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The Times

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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EDITOR'S NOTE

WHEN the Special Irish Number of *The Times* was published, on March 17, 1913, a number of newspapers in Ireland and elsewhere expressed the hope that the contents of the number would be republished in a volume, where they would be more easily accessible for reference. The same hope was expressed in a still larger number of private communications received at *The Times* office. The publishers adopted the suggestion with the greater readiness, as it offered an opportunity to include (as they are included in this volume) certain articles which had been written for the Irish Number, but were not published in it owing to the limitations of space. These articles appear here as Chapters II, III, and IV of Part II, and Chapter II of Part III.

The other articles have been reread by their respective writers, and such few errors as had crept in have been corrected, while here and there slight alterations have been made. A few minor articles have been omitted, and the order of the chapters is not the same as that in which they appeared in *The Times*. Otherwise, the text is the identical.

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IRELAND OF TO-DAY

INTRODUCTORY

IN the following pages an attempt is made to present a comprehensive picture of the present condition of Ireland without any reference to politics or subjects of immediate controversy. This is, of course, not altogether possible, for many of the questions which most intimately affect the daily life and material condition of the people have unfortunately become extremely controversial. Nearly all Irishmen are profoundly interested in these questions; and, however earnestly they may strive to divest themselves of prejudices, it is inevitable that, when writing about them, they should, even though inadvertently and by side-winds, as it were, betray their personal views and predilections. No man can become thoroughly familiar with a subject without acquiring positive opinions of the right and wrong ways of dealing with it; and those opinions can hardly fail to colour his most carefully restrained utterances. In Ireland all opinions on any subject have an apparently irresistible tendency to assume a political complexion; and there are not a few views thus collaterally expressed in the following articles which are not the views of *The Times*. But what we are concerned with is not such incidental touches of what seems to us to be faulty colouring, but the picture as a whole. And the picture which, we believe, will emerge from a reading of these pages is a very interesting one, and one with which the public at large is not familiar. Most people will be surprised to discover how much Ireland contains besides politics.

The spheres in which controversy most irrepressibly obtrudes itself are those of education and the land. In what follows, the subject of education is treated from a variety of angles, and all the contributors are writers who, by experience and intimate acquaintance with the matter, are abundantly qualified to speak with authority in regard to, at least, the facts. On the land question the facts and figures which are presented, and the historical surveys of the operation of the various Land Acts, will give to many readers a much clearer idea than they have yet had of the extraordinary dimensions and character of the reformation which has been in progress and is still going on in the condition of the rural population. Few people can have failed to hear much general talk upon the Irish land question, but not many, we conjecture, have obtained therefrom any such definite understanding of what has actually been accomplished in the last two decades as will be gathered from a reading of this volume. A comprehension of the situation will be assisted by a study of the maps and diagrams which accompany some of the chapters, and there is also an account of how the mind of a visitor to Ireland to-day is impressed by the evidences of the changes which are visible on every hand.

Closely connected with the land are the agricultural industries of Ireland, which will be found to be duly treated in their place, both in general survey and in detailed notes on the chief occupations of the people, to whom the breeding of cattle, horses, and sheep, dairying, poultry-raising, and bacon-curing are of such vital importance. Interesting articles also deal with the growing of tobacco and flax. More novel, perhaps, to the majority of readers will be the chapters dealing with Irish manufactures, the extraordinarily high quality of a number of which is made subject of comment. In shipbuilding, linen manufacture, brewing, and distilling, as well as in some industries of less magnitude, Irish products have attained and hold a particularly high place in the estimation of the world. The manufactures, again, are discussed both in general survey and in detailed accounts devoted to the several departments; and not least interesting in this section will be found the

account of the adoption and use of the Irish Trade Mark, which is proving itself a powerful influence both in increasing the pride of the Irish people in their domestic products and in stimulating the demand for these products abroad.

Chapters will be found descriptive of the various sports which are so popular in Ireland, and so congenial to the temperament of the Irish people, such as hunting, racing, polo, motoring, salmon and trout fishing, and golf, which last has of recent years thriven in Ireland in a degree at least as marked as in any other part of the British Isles. The Irishman, as a rule, loves the animals which are used in sport, and he has a natural aptitude for games. As a playground there are not many countries which offer more attractions to the holiday-maker.

An even larger space in this volume is occupied by essays on the literary and artistic spirit of Ireland. That the Celts have always been an artistic and imaginative race we know. It is often questioned whether their achievement has corresponded to their capabilities. Much interesting discussion of the subject will be found in the chapters devoted to the Irish literary spirit, the modern Irish writers, the Abbey Theatre, and the Gaelic League. There is an admirable exposition of the characteristics and history of early art in Ireland, as well as of the present condition of painting and of music.

Under the heading of "Impressions" glimpses are given of the various parts of Ireland, with descriptions of the chief towns, the scenery, the historical associations, and other aspects of the country, which are likely to interest the visitor or the reader who is not already familiar with it. Other writers deal also with the railways, waterways, and ports of Ireland.

Finally, at the beginning of Part II., is an essay on the contribution which Ireland has made, by the brains, energy, and courage of her most famous children, to the making and the keeping of the British Empire. It is well to be reminded now and again of the more brilliant pages in our history, and not a few of those pages owe their chief lustre to the country which produced Burke and the Wellesleys and Goldsmith

and Sheridan and Swift. The essay is one which can be read with advantage both by Irishmen and by all who take a pride in the Empire's history.

The chief impression which neither the visitor to Ireland nor the reader of these pages can fail to carry away is that things in Ireland are very much better than they have been or than most people have any idea that they are. The figures of the bank deposits, making all allowances for disturbing factors, give evidence of a notable increase in the wealth of the people as a whole. The strictly agricultural industries, such as horse-breeding, cattle-breeding, and swine-raising are in a prosperous condition; withal that they have been subjected to the strain of a season of unusual drought in 1911 and the unfortunate outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease in the last year, which very seriously interfered with the export and sale of Irish stock. More conspicuously prosperous are the manufacturing industries, the statistics of increasing exports in which are particularly encouraging. The cottage manufactures, which are so noteworthy a feature of Irish rural life, have to confront a continually increasing keenness of competition from the factories, and especially from the factories of various Continental countries. In spite of that fact, however, they manage to hold their own well, and they make a most valuable contribution to the incomes in tens of thousands of cottage homes. They are assisted in their struggle by the work of the Department of Agriculture and the Congested Districts Board, and in no less degree by the voluntary co-operation of private patrons. But they could not win that support and encouragement if they were not worthy of it, and the fact undoubtedly is that there are in the Irish people generally an aptitude and artistic instinct which make them capable of producing hand-made work of a very high order. In what is more usually understood by the word "manufactures," moreover, namely, the production in factories by large numbers of hands, Ireland has shown a quite remarkable growth in recent years, and the great industrial establishments of Belfast, of Londonderry, of Dublin, of Cork, and other towns would be a credit to any country in the world.

More important, however, than any of these things is the great change which is being wrought in the condition of the poorer agricultural population, especially in those unhappy regions which are known as the Congested Districts. That there are drawbacks to the new conditions it would be useless to deny; nor is it possible yet to predict how far-reaching in many directions the results of the reforms now being so vigorously pushed forward may be. But what is undeniably apparent is a great improvement in the immediate material surroundings of large classes of people whose lives in the past have been none too cheerful. The change in material conditions is undoubtedly also bringing in its train a change in spirit. The Irish people is not a discouraged or down-hearted people to-day. There are abundant signs of an awakened activity and of new ambitions, of a desire to take advantage of the opportunities of progress which the modern world offers, and every indication points to the coming of a period of much increased prosperity.

PART I

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE GEOLOGY OF IRELAND

ON the map of Europe Ireland possesses peculiar interest, as an outpost of our small but complex continent and as the land where the Mediterranean peoples, moving westward, found themselves at last checked by the untried Atlantic. Standing out on the submerged plateau that is known as the continental shelf, four-square in shape and margined by a mountainous coast, Ireland is more independent as a geographical unit than England or Scotland at the present time.

When, however, we trace the details of its structure, this outlying island appears closely related to north-western Europe. Throughout the islands of Mayo, the Ox Mountains, and Donegal the ridges of old crystalline rocks, injected by granite, run with a north-east trend. The Leinster Chain, as travellers by the sea route from London know so well, follows the same course on the south-east of the country, and bars out, with its great round-backed granite moors and its picturesque foothills of stratified rock, all view of the plains of the interior. The trend of these masses is that of the Scottish Highlands and of Norway; the Irish area was in old time moulded by the same crumplings that gave us Glen More and the high axis of Scandinavia. At a later date, after the deposition of the Coal-measures, folding took place from south to north, and the structural lines that are conspicuous, running east and west, through Belgium,

Brittany, Cornwall, and South Wales, find their representatives in the Old Red Sandstone ridges from Waterford to the wilds of Kerry. Between these barren sandstone ranges the Carboniferous Limestone, which once covered the whole area, has been preserved by being folded down into 'long trough-like hollows. The rivers of southern Ireland have selected the passage-ways provided by the softer rock, and the Lee, the Blackwater, and the Suir run eastward in well-wooded valleys for the longer portions of their courses.

While these two systems of folds control the most prominent features of modern Ireland, the high ground of the north-eastern counties was added to the area in far more recent geological times. The basaltic plateaus which present so bold and 'grim a scarp towards the coast from Belfast round to the east side of Lough Foyle were formed by outpourings of lava after the white chalk had been laid down. The Mourne Mountains, an isolated knot of granite cones north of Carlingford Lough, represent a cauldron of molten rock connected with the same epoch of unrest, while the black and 'rugged ridge of Carlingford Mountain in Louth probably records one of the centres from which the basalts flowed.

The highland rim of Ireland thus presents considerable diversity, and the natural gateways to the interior lie far apart. The submergence of the edge of western Europe, and the growth of the north-east Atlantic through the breaking away of the continental margin, allowed the sea in comparatively recent times to penetrate the Irish valleys, especially in the south and west. The inlets thus offered, such as the Shannon mouth and the harbours of Cork and Waterford, were seized on by the early settlers. Waterford, Wexford, Carlingford, Strangford still bear names that were given to them by Norsemen.

Dublin Bay, where the central plain of Ireland meets the sea, affords the most obvious means of access for the stranger. The coast-land between the towering sea front of Bray Head in Wicklow and the undulating hills near Drogheda was occupied as a Scandinavian colony for two hundred years. Through the same passage the Norman and the Elizabethan

forces penetrated the country, while they maintained their communication with the more familiar hazards of the sea. The chain of Leinster, rising above Dublin, has always afforded a menace to the spreading civilization of the plain, and the methods adopted for settling public matters in the lowland again and again drove men of courage to the heather of the unconquered hills.

The central plain is, indeed, the most remarkable feature of the country. When the sea of the Carboniferous period had covered the area, in common with so much of France and England, massive limestone was deposited by the accumulation of shells and corals upon its floor. The folding at the close of the Coal-measure epoch, to which reference has been made, crumpled the south of Ireland, but left an immense extent of more level strata uplifted throughout the central area. During long ages, but largely before Triassic times, the Upper Carboniferous strata, including valuable coal-beds, were worn away, and the underlying limestone became revealed. In Sligo, Leitrim, and Northern Clare this massive rock still forms scarped hills rivalling those of Yorkshire and Derbyshire; but for the most part it became worn down almost to sea level, and a great plain resulted, stretching from the county of Fermanagh to Tipperary, and from Dublin Bay to Galway. Here and there the folding has brought up ridges of Old Red Sandstone and Silurian slate from below, and Slievefelim, Slieve Bloom, and the Curlew Hills near Boyle form picturesque breaks in the general level of the plain. The margin between the limestone and the more rugged older masses has determined the site of many of the decisive episodes in Irish history, and to this day the main routes by road and rail follow the prolongations of the plain into the recesses of the mountain rim.

The limestone in places allows the water to drain away into it, and in Cork and Galway we have many glimpses of an underworld of fascinating waterways and caves. In other places the rock is waterlogged, and the rivers, dissolving away their banks, spread out on its surface in broad and shallow lakes. The Shannon, rising in the Carboniferous highland near

Lough Allen, becomes in a few miles a meandering river of the plain. Lough Bofin, Lough Ree, and the northern reaches of Lough Derg are merely flooded portions of the level lands around. The Shannon valley between Slieve Bloom and Slieve Aughty has a width of nearly forty miles. The recent uplift that has rejuvenated so many streams in Ireland gives fresh energy to the river as it passes from Lough Derg down the rapids of Castieconnell; but the Shannon as a whole, as J. B. Jukes long ago pointed out, exhibits the mature features of a stream generated among older landscapes, on a surface very different from that over which its course now lies. Similarly, the Slaney and the Barrow, which cut right through the granite chain of Leinster, must have originated on an upland that overtopped the summits of the chain. As these rivers worked their way downwards, the stratified rocks over the central Irish area were steadily washed away, and when the limestone was reached the development of the great plain became relatively rapid.

During the Post-Pliocene Ice Age, when the superficial features of our islands, and indeed of a large part of the globe, were so profoundly modified, local glaciers began to gather on the mountain rim and on the northern plateaus of Ireland. These were soon overridden by ice-sheets of the continental type, radiating from a snowy region in Fermanagh. From this high snow-dome the ice spread outward over Sligo, Donegal, and Tyrone, meeting during the maximum epoch of glaciation an invasion of foreign ice from Scotland. The part of the Irish ice-sheet that moved south-eastward towards Dublin similarly encountered near the east coast a great glacier which descended from the Clyde. This Scottish ice-tongue filled the Irish Channel as far as Wexford, and carried shelly clays from the sea-floor across the land and up to heights of 1,500 ft. against the Leinster Chain. The ice that occupied the central plain accumulated in its lower layers an enormous body of detrital matter, the result of previous processes of decay which had attacked the land surface continuously since Cretaceous times. When the ice finally stagnated and melted away, this material remained as boulder-clays, or as gravels washed from them by

torrential waters. Irish agriculture is largely affected by the distribution of these glacial deposits, and the limestone of the plain has become carried in the form of scratched blocks into many districts where the local soils would otherwise be in need of liming.

The Irish districts familiar to the tourist are naturally those associated with the mountain rim. The great plain, with its extensive peat bogs, which are now often overgrown by heather, has a scenic interest of its own, presenting on a larger scale the association of brown lands and cloudy skies and sudden gleams of sunlight that is familiar in the English fenlands. But the stranger, landing in the Norse settlements of Cork or Waterford or Dublin, makes nowadays directly for the hills. The Old Red Sandstone ranges are crossed at some of their finest points between Killarney and Glengarriff. The Galties (3,015 ft.), near Tipperary, and the great combes on the Comeraghs near Clonmel, offer less known but attractive fields. The bare quartzite cones of pre-Cambrian rock in Connemara, Achill Island, and Donegal stand out nobly above lower moorlands of mica-schist.

The constant improvement in farm buildings, the thousands of neat and well-kept labourers' cottages, the immense stretches of arable or grazing land now passing into the hands of new and keenly interested owners, convince one that agriculture is the permanent industry of Ireland. Excellent building stones, however, occur, and it seems incongruous that ornamental granites are imported to London from Sweden and from Finland when so much material remains unutilized along the Irish coast. The compact grey granite of Newry, south-west of the Mourne Mountains, is already well known to architects, and the chocolate-coloured stone near Galway town may prove a pleasant variation on the familiar granite of Peterhead. The grey granite of Ballyknockan, on the west side of the Leinster Chain, is largely brought down by road for use in Dublin. The fine grained sandstone of Mount Charles, near Donegal, which is best seen, perhaps, in the picturesque cathedral of Letterkenny, has proved itself a serviceable stone for towns. The entrance hall of the National Museum in Dublin and St. Finbarre's

Cathedral in Cork show the fine use that may be made of Irish marbles. With the exception of the unique serpentinous stone from County Galway, the famous "Connemara green," which is of pre-Cambrian age, these marbles are stained examples of the prevalent Carboniferous limestone. The red varieties from the neighbourhood of Cork, the black from Galway and Kilkenny, and the grey "fossil" marbles from various localities are recognized as ornamental stones. The Ulster Bank and certain offices in Dublin are already classical examples of buildings in the grey limestone of the central plain. The revival of liming for the improvement of agricultural land has, moreover, led to a renewed demand for limestone throughout the country. In the north, the compact white chalk of Antrim has long been quarried for lime along the coast. Slates are worked at Killaloe, conveniently near the Shannon waterway, and at one or two places near Clonmel.

The coal-beds of Ireland are at present the subject of serious investigation. The only locality, however, where a concealed field is likely to exist is the region between Dungannon and Lough Neagh. Here, at the south end and centre of the known coalfield, a number of coals that should be workable have never been followed to any depth, while the 9 ft. Annagher seam of Coalisland probably still remains to be found eastward under the Triassic covering. At Lough Allen, where the coals occur high on mountainous outliers, we probably know all that can be learned about their value. At Castlecomer, however, in the centre of the anthracite field of Leinster, the lowest coals still remain to be extracted, and a considerable amount of development may also occur as the seams are worked inward from the edge of this large area. The neighbouring field of Slieveardagh has a regular output from small mines; but the Coal-measures and Millstone grit series between this area and the Atlantic are practically devoid of useful seams. At Ballycastle, in County Antrim, a considerable amount of coal remains to be raised from strata that correspond with the Lower Carboniferous beds of Scotland. Elsewhere, however, in Ireland the Millstone grit horizons remain as the "farewell rock" in coal-mining.

Iron-mining is at present confined to the bedded deposits of hematite and limonite between the upper and lower basaltic series of the north-eastern counties. These ores are aluminous, and graduate into ferruginous bauxites. They represent various stages in the alteration of the lower basaltic flows under tropical conditions of weathering in Eocene times, and they usually appear as a bright red band on cliff sections or on the excavated hillsides. When the iron famine that has long been prophesied comes more distinctly into view, the carbonate ores of Lough Allen and Ballycastle and the hematite in Silurian strata in County Down may receive renewed attention. In a shorter period, probably, the bauxite beds of County Antrim, some of which are derived from the basalts and some from more siliceous lavas, will take their place in the aluminium trade. At present they are used for the preparation of alum.

References are often made to the mining of lead and copper, which was so profitably carried on in the middle of the nineteenth century. The great success of the Bonmahon and Knockmahon copper mines in County Waterford, and of the Allihies mine in the far west of County Cork, is still sufficient to attract prospectors.

Barytes is mined at Clonakilty, in County Cork, and a vein is being actively developed on the Leitrim border in Glencar. Gypsum, usually in small layers, is extracted from the Triassic lake-deposits near Belfast, which also yield beds of rock-salt 80 ft. or more in thickness.

From time to time the attention of industrial magnates is directed to the extensive peat deposits of central Ireland, and the example of Sweden shows how the moss-litter trade may receive considerable encouragement. The proposal to prepare gas for engines at the bogs themselves also meets with favour. Meanwhile, in Ireland as in the United States and Canada, the question of fuel for dwellers near the boglands deserves serious consideration. It is of no use to talk of calorific values to the peasant tilling his own farm, and to point out that he might get more advantage from bought coal than from peat dug on his own holding. His family can help him to win and

carry "turf" at times when there is little doing on the farm. The peat is included in his purchase money, and will perhaps remain available for generations. It is possible that the temptation offered by a big company, which would buy out his rights and, on the Cape Nome principle, sweep away the bogland in a year or two, would leave him the poorer in the end and his descendants with a new charge on their resources.

CHAPTER II

IMPRESSIONS OF IRELAND

A—SOME GENERAL REFLECTION

THE visitor who makes a comprehensive tour of Ireland can hardly fail to carry away with him certain definite impressions, of which the chief will be (1) Of the extraordinarily high level of beauty and of interest in the Irish scenery ; (2) of the great superficial kindness and hospitality of the people ; (3) of the extent to which the Ireland of the present is influenced—whether overshadowed or illuminated, according to the point of view—by its past ; and (4) of the astonishing process of amelioration, almost of regeneration, which is now going on in the condition of the agricultural population, and the widespread evidences of increasing prosperity.

The Englishman, as a rule, knows little of the Irish landscape. He has heard of Killarney and of the Giant's Causeway, of the Vale of Ovoca, and perhaps of Glendalough. Vaguely he has a notion that somewhere—in Kerry, perhaps, or is it in Donegal?—there is fine coast scenery to be found. The truth is that throughout the whole circuit of the country the coast is beautiful. Much of the flat land of the central basin may be unlovely, though not without a certain wild picturesqueness of its own ; but scattered through the coast region, from North Antrim to South Cork, from the Wicklow Mountains to Galway Bay, there is an almost bewildering abundance of places, little advertised, which would be famous "beauty spots" in other countries. Conspicuously, moreover, much of the scenery has that quality of charm of which we are accustomed to think as almost typically English ; the

charm which comes of the variety, on not too large a scale, of green hillsides and deep woods, of lake and rushing stream and waterfall, alternating with wide sweeps of moorland. But to the English charm is added something of extra warmth of coloration and of atmosphere. The grass, at least, through the soft-aired south and west, seems greener—more nearly “emerald”—and the woods more luxuriantly leafy. The moorlands have a richer tone than those of either Yorkshire or Scotland. The wildest bog by its genial colour is made friendly, and the stony face of the wilderness of Connemara, for all its poverty, seems cordial. In spite of its history Ireland was surely made by nature to be a comfortable land. It is not difficult to understand why Irishmen love it with that “dearress of instinct” which Burke confessed was “more than he could justify to reason.” Doubtless also its beauty, its warmth of colour, and romantic wildness have reacted on the temperament of the people.

It is true that Irish writers of the present day tell us that the world knows nothing of the temperament of the Irish people. We have invented, we are told, as the typical Irishman, a fantastic creature to whom we have given all, and only, those virtues which we do not want for ourselves. The laughter-loving, irresponsible being to whom we have come to grow so affectionately attached is, it seems, a myth; and in his stead the new school of realistic dramatists and essayists would have us believe in an Irish peasant avaricious by nature, physically half-nourished, but violent and brutal in his passions, destitute of natural affection, marrying without love, leading a life of squalid tragedy unrelieved by any colour of pleasure or innocent amusement. In their haste to repudiate for him every virtue which he owes to Saxon writers, they omit to give him any other of his own beyond the mere ability to suffer. He has even ceased to drink.

One cannot suppose that these writers have no knowledge of their own country. Each we must assume to be familiar with at least a local circle of the people. And from other evidence than that of their writings one is compelled to believe that in the lower

strata of the agricultural population this brutal element does exist. It seems, indeed, as if, while the best Irishman is perhaps the highest type of man that the civilized world produces, so the worst is about the lowest—in saying which one is not unmindful of the readiness with which Irish swords leap from their scabbards to resent a Saxon insult and of the quickness of fence of some of the wrists behind those blades.

Happily, in those whom he meets the visitor will see nothing either of the characters or of the life which these new writers depict so admirably; for all that stories which he will hear may arouse suspicion, and some physiognomies casually encountered in the remote districts may fail to invite affection. On the other hand, he will see a thousand things which seem to justify the old misapprehensions and confirm his old ideals. He will meet with more reminders of Mrs. Conyers, even of Charles Lever, than of J. M. Synge. Hardly anywhere will the stranger receive so much, not of mere civility only, but of painstaking kindness. In the cities, when the entertainment of visitors is afoot, men of business let their affairs take care of themselves, and clubs, apparently, suspend their rules; in the country the work of farm or cottage stands still while the visitor is made at home, and set, perhaps, a mile upon his road. It may be not mere kindness of heart, but only one facet of what seems to be the chief characteristic of the Irish nature, an unconquerable preference for doing anything else than the task immediately in front. But the impression made upon the stranger is that of a singularly likeable people of generous, if inconsequent, impulses, vastly more agreeable than their own writers would let the world believe.

The other matters mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter—the influence of the past on the Ireland of to-day and the revolution which is now being wrought in the condition of the people—will be referred to in their appropriate places in what follows. Of both the reader who has never visited Ireland may well have heard before; but he can hardly, from mere descriptions or statistics, have formed a real understanding of the extent of either. The change which has been made, and is still going on, in the condition

of the people is, especially, almost beyond belief, as it surely must be unexampled.

B—THE NORTH-EAST

In spite of what has been said above, to generalize about the Irish is not only as rash as it is to generalize about any other people, but even more unsafe by reason of the diversity of character in what some writers call the two "nations" which go to make up the people. The difference between Belfast and Dublin or Cork or Limerick is more fundamental than that between any two English towns, however outwardly dissimilar.

The streets of Belfast, indeed, have an undefinable suggestion of an American city. Castle Place, with its width, its broad shop-fronts, its endless procession of electric cars, and the businesslike air of the crowded pavements, might well be the centre of some such city as Philadelphia or Chicago. There is no mistaking the fact that here one is in a town of the first commercial importance. As a matter of fact, Belfast claims to have the "largest in the world" in no fewer than five different classes of industrial establishment: the largest shipyard, the largest linen mill, the largest mineral water factory, the largest tobacco factory, and the largest rope-walk. Whether this be literally true or not (and exhaustive comparisons of this kind are extremely difficult to substantiate), the industrial establishments of the city are on a very large scale, as any visitor may convince himself who will visit the shipyards of Messrs. Harland & Wolff or Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co., or the York Street Flax Spinning Mills, or the mineral water factory of Messrs. Cantrell & Cochrane, or Messrs. Gallaher's great tobacco works. And it will strike the visitor at first as incongruous that Belfast, here in the North of Ireland, should have attained pre-eminence in so many and diverse lines of business. What can there be in common between two such disconnected industries as linen and shipbuilding? It is, indeed, extraordinary testimony to the energy and enterprise of the citizens of Belfast that they should have made

the name of Belfast linen, Belfast mineral waters, and Belfast ships known, and almost standard, all over the world. It is, as the Greeks discovered, "men that make a city, not the walls." There is, however, a close interdependence between such industries as those of shipbuilding and linen making, to the extent that, while in the yards the labour employed is almost entirely that of men, in the spinning mills it is practically entirely female, and thus the industries are excellently complementary.

. In the four years 1908 to 1911 inclusive one or other of Belfast's two great shipbuilding firms held the "world's record" for the largest output of tonnage from their yards. Three times Messrs. Harland & Wolff headed the list of the world's shipbuilders, and once Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co. In 1912 Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co. again outstripped Messrs. Harland & Wolff, but their total of 85,391 tons gave them only third place in the world's list. The combined output of the two Belfast yards last year was twenty-two vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 162,982 and of 93,400 indicated horsepower. That this total will be exceeded in 1913 seems to be guaranteed by the fact that in the yards of Messrs. Harland & Wolff the huge *Britannic* is already far advanced; and a morning of engrossing interest can be spent in making a tour of either of the yards. In those of Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co. (choosing them as having had in the past season the larger output) there are eleven slips, all capable of taking a vessel of 5,000 tons and some able to accommodate ships as large as 20,000; and all are nowadays continuously occupied with vessels in various stages of construction. In one, perhaps, the giant keel is only being laid; in the next the skeleton ribs are rising high into the air; in a third the plates are being riveted and the air shakes to the chattering of the pneumatic tools; while a fourth holds an 8,000-ton passenger steamer seemingly complete. There is immense fascination in watching the ruthless power and deliberate precision of the great punching and shearing and drilling machines, which treat steel plates as if they were made of cheese, and in the tools of the engineering works where last year

engines of 53,000 indicated horse-power were turned out. In the wood-working shops one sees in process of manufacture every article made of wood, which goes to the equipment of a great ship and recognizes each of those ingenious inconveniences of state-room and saloon and smoke-room which, as passenger on a liner, one alternately abominates and admires. In all the firm employs some 8,000 men, whose weekly pay-roll exceeds £10,000, and from 80,000 to 90,000 tons is a good average year's output of shipping.

From the port of Belfast last year the total clearances were over 3,000,000 tons, and each year an average of about 440 foreign vessels arrives here with cargo and unloads. The Customs and Excise receipts amount to some £3,600,000. The imports of coal in 1912 were close on 1,200,000 tons, those of wheat 100,000 tons, and of flour about the same, while maize amounted to 260,000 tons. For the two tobacco manufacturing concerns in the city—Messrs. Gallaher (Limited) and Messrs. Murray, Sons & Co. (Limited)—7,500 tons of leaf came into the port during the year.

But the industry for which Belfast is probably most famous is its linen, and a visit to the great plant of the York Street Flax Spinning Company, which employs 5,000 hands, not counting an immense number of out-workers in the country, is a notable experience. In no other line of manufacture, perhaps, can one see machinery of such beautiful ingenuity and delicacy of operation—a delicacy which is matched by the quickness of finger of the girls who tend the machines, and by the instinct, quite incomprehensible to a layman, by which the men are guided who, by the touch, sort yarns into their various grades; and the chief conviction with which one emerges from the works is of the undeniable honesty of Irish linen. Here one sees every process which converts the rough yarn before it is combed into handkerchief or damask table-cloth. The bleaching alone one does not see, for Belfast linen is all sun-bleached, which cannot be done in a city, so the company has its bleaching works at Muckamore, twenty miles out in the country, where the linen can be spread on grassy slopes to the sun and the pure air. Such is the reputation of the

Muckamore bleaching that not a little Manchester and other cotton stuff comes here to be dyed and finished to be returned to the manufacturers ready for sale.

•The Belfast rope-works, where everything from the stoutest ship's hawser to a fine trout line is made, employ 3,500 hands. The exports of Belfast mineral waters average about 4,000 tons a year. Messrs. Dunville's famous distillery covers an area of about nineteen acres. Messrs. Gallaher's tobacco factory pays some £1,500,000 a year in duties. These are all big figures for industries of a single town. The population of Belfast is now over 380,000. It was only 120,000 in 1861, so that it has increased more than threefold in fifty years. One thinks more of the industry of Belfast and less of its monuments and history (for all that there were stirring times here in the early days) than in the case of any other town in Ireland; but Belfast has also an attractive social life. It is situated amidst fine scenery of both mountain and lough. There are good sailing and fishing, and five golf courses are within easy reach of the city; and it is, moreover, a musical centre of no small repute.

It has been said that Belfast is situated amidst fine scenery; and there are in the British Isles not many pleasanter trips to be made than that by the coast road round the north-east of Ireland by the Giant's Causeway and Portrush to Londonderry. For motor-ing the road is excellent the whole way. One runs out of the city with Belfast Lough on the right hand and the dark hills rising on the left to Carrickfergus, once a town of larger importance than it is to-day, as witnesses the magnificent castle, supposed to date from early in the thirteenth century, boldly placed on a rock 30 ft. above the level of the lough.

The small towns and villages of Ireland may vary in detail and are generally more cleanly and prosperous-seeming in the north than in the south; but their plan is usually the same, being built along one endlessly meandering street, so that neighbours in a place of no more than 300 or 400 inhabitants may well live a mile and a half apart. It is a plan, one may suppose, more conducive to healthy exercise than to neighbourliness and social intimacies. In being built on this plan

Carrickfergus is typical, and typical also are the white-washed and thatched cottages, and more happily typical again, as we shall see later, are the ruins of similar cottages, now deserted and left to moulder by the roadside.

From Carrickfergus to Larne runs a beautiful bit of woodland-bordered road between the scarred hills and the level waters of Larne Lough, across which rises boldly the outline of Island Magee. From Larne the road swings out to the rocky sea-coast, with the Mariner's Islands in the offing, and, plainly visible in clear weather, the Scottish coast. One passes Corn-castle, the mere stump of a ruin on the very sea's edge; and so to a wilder country, where the hedges give place to stone walls, human habitations are few, and the coast line is a succession of splendidly jutting headlands and strange formations of weathered rocks. Under almost perpendicular cliffs the road runs to Glenarm, and, still by cliffs and limestone quarries, to Carnlough, and always on your right hand, within a stone's throw, is the sea. From here, by Red Bay and Garron Point (with Garron Tower, the seat of the Vane-Tempests, but more recently an hotel, on the hills to the left) to Cushendall is perhaps the most picturesque part of the whole coast road; and at the inn at Cushendall is better accommodation than can commonly be found in small Irish towns.

Then the road swings inland, over the great Glendun viaduct, built in the time of the famine, from the centre of which the Glendun River lies 80 ft. below you and on either hand lies spread a magnificent view of the wide tilled valley. Then come great sweeps of dark moorland, with heather and furze and bog gashed with the black peat-cuttings, till the sea lifts into view and the Giant's Causeway.

There is no need to describe again the Causeway (that "bit left over" from chaos), with its serried rows of basalt columns, the prototype of all cyclopean masonry, rising tier above tier in groupings of strange solemnity. You can take a boat, if you will, to see the caves; and on a calm day will have no need to share Thackeray's emotions, who, having paid 10s. for the boat, would have given £5 to be out of it again. But there is wonder enough in mere wandering on the

shore. The scene is always beautiful, but most weirdly beautiful on a moonlight night; nor least impressive towards the close of a winter day, when a north-west gale is raging and the sea drives in, smothering the Stookans with foam and making all the coast one line of crashing white.

From the Causeway to Portrush runs the first electric tramway, opened in 1883, to be built in the United Kingdom, and on the way it passes Dunluce Castle, a noble ruin in a situation as uncomfortable as picturesque. For the castle stands on a rock separated by some 20 ft. from the mainland, and the path to it, supported on a single arch, is only some 26 in. wide. For which reason most tourists are content to view the castle from outside.

Portrush, with its combination of rocky coast and great stretches of firm sand, is a charming watering place, with a truly magnificent outlook seawards to where the Skerries lie, a natural breakwater, against which the sea when it is high dashes splendidly. Portrush also has a very good hotel, built by the Northern Counties Railway and now owned by the Midland Railway of England, and one of the best golf courses in the British Islands. Golf, it may be remarked incidentally, has come in the last few years to play an even larger part in the life in Ireland than it does in England. Good links are scattered all over the country, of which at least five—Portmarnock, Portrush, Dollymount, Newcastle, and Lahinch—are fairly in the championship class. All round the coast, moreover, there is such an abundance of natural sites that the next decade or two will undoubtedly see a number of new courses opened, some of which will be as good as any now in existence.

From Portrush one runs, still over first-class roads, to Portstewart, where again there are fine sea views and excellent bathing, and where Charles Lever lived for a while, to Coleraine, on the River Bann, famous for its salmon. At the Cutts, a few miles out of Coleraine, there is a salmon leap 13 ft. in height. Coleraine itself is an attractive town of some 7,000 people of no small industrial importance, especially in the linen trade. All this region is, moreover, good agricultural country and well cultivated.

Absorption in its history, however, does not prevent Londonderry from being a very prosperous town and one of the best governed to be found anywhere, with excellent schools and public institutions. Its rates are exceptionally low, and the new Guildhall, on which, by the liberality of the Irish Society of London, some £30,000 has now been spent, is a stately and admirable building containing among other things some quite beautiful stained glass of modern Irish manufacture. The relations of the city to the Irish Society have not always been of the most cordial, but recently the wise policy and open-handedness of the Society have entirely captured the affectionate respect of the people.

Londonderry has a population of 40,000, and the rate of its growth is shown by the fact that the rateable valuation of the property in the city has increased by steady degrees from £65,204 in 1880 to £113,872 (or very nearly double) in 1912. Of the industries of the city, the most important is that of shirt-making, and a visit to the great factory of Messrs. Welch, Margetson & Co., where 900 girls are employed (though the making up of the finished garments is done in cottages), will be found as interesting as were the linen mills of Belfast. The factory uses about five miles of cotton cloth a day and some 150 miles of thread. Some of the machines work at a speed of 4,000 stitches a minute—if you can imagine what that means—and one is at a loss whether to admire more the intricate simplicity of the machines or the almost incredible dexterity of the girls who tend them. One gathers something of the position which Derry has assumed in the world, as a centre of this industry, by noticing the piles of shirts finished and ready for export, each with the name of the merchant to whose order they are made stitched into the back of the neck. Glasgow, Bermuda, London, Troy, N.Y., Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Yokohama, Dublin—so the names run *ad infinitum*; and (alas! for the innocent duplicities of trade!) on every label the merchant calls himself “shirt-maker.”

The distillery of Messrs. David Watt & Co. turns out some 50,000 gallons of whisky a week, and as a by-product, what is even more interesting and one

suspects more valuable, some 45 tons of yeast. Derry yeast has the reputation of being the best, and commands the highest price of any in the world, owing, it is supposed, to some property of the water. At East Wall, in Derry, again, are the headquarters of the famous Donegal knitted woollens, which are such a blessing to the peasantry of a wide area of Donegal and adjoining counties. Here the knitted golf coats for women were originated, which have become so fashionable within the last few years that the market is now flooded with cheap Continental imitations. Made in the cottages, but collected here at East Wall, also are the well-known knitted gloves for both men and women; and if the reader will notice the black winter gloves worn by the London Police Force, he will see a good sample of the Donegal-Derry glove.

Modern science wishes us to believe that in the process of evolution "acquired" characters cannot be inherited; but science will have hard work convincing a large employer of cottage labour in Ireland of the fact. In a neighbourhood, and especially in families, where a given industry is established, children develop the necessary dexterity with extraordinary quickness. But the experience of employers is that the same aptitude is difficult of cultivation in a district where the industry is new. The fingers of the younger generation are comparatively slow and clumsy where those of the parents have not already been supplied by practice. We must believe it to be a matter of imitation only; but those who know the facts will tell you that it looks extraordinarily like inherited aptitude. Whatever the fact may be, such industries as this of woollen knitting in Donegal are of great value to the people. The average earning of a peasant worker is from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a week, and two or three such workers in a cottage make an immense difference in the family budget and in the standard of comfort in the home. For the most part, however, cottage-workers can only be counted on for some four or five months' work in the year. In spring and at harvest they have no time from the farm work to spare for what is only a subsidiary labour, and throughout the summer very little; which is one of the chief reasons why, with the keenness of modern competition, such

labour is at a growing disadvantage in the fight against the factory labour of a city.

Only twelve miles from Derry is the popular bathing and golfing resort of Buncrana, on Lough Swilly, with its old castle, excellent golf course, and a good hotel. But it is not possible in such a survey as this to review every interesting place, or go over every charming road, in Ireland. There is an attractive journey to be made by the Great Northern Railway from Derry by Letterkenny and Gweedore to Burton Port in the Rosses, a town which has grown rapidly of late years, chiefly through the development of the fishing industry. On the way one passes through much wild scenery of mountain and moor; and Gweedore is famous as a headquarters for fishermen. Another branch of the same railway runs from Derry by Strabane to Glenties, through the heart of Donegal; and yet a third to the town of Donegal itself, in the extreme south of the county, and on to Killybegs, where the well-known carpets are made. The coast of Donegal, and, indeed, almost all the west coast of Ireland, is conspicuous for the wildness and rugged beauty of its scenery. In places the golden eagle and peregrine falcon still breed, and choughs and ravens haunt the cliffs; and everywhere the land is full of legend and of historic and prehistoric ruins. If exploration of the coast, or of the lough and mountain region, is impracticable, however, the best plan is to run south from Londonderry by rail or road to Enniskillen by Strabane and Omagh, both towns of approximately 5,000 people, to Enniskillen.

It is the happy fortune of nearly all the larger towns of Ireland to be most picturesquely situated, and none is more fortunate in this respect than Enniskillen, almost surrounded as it is by the River Erne, which connects the Upper and Lower Loughs of the same name; and on Lough Erne is scenery which many people think the equal of anything at Killarney itself. In the summer, steamers make delightful trips upon the lough, and in summer or winter there are few more attractive bits of country in Ireland than that which one passes on the road which skirts the south side of the lough from Enniskillen via Belleek and Ballyshannon to Bundoran. The road, if narrow and

winding, has a good motoring surface, and the views are almost continuously charming, with glimpses of the lough on one hand and on the other the hills rising at places almost into grandeur. One passes through what in England we should call a fine park-like country, now under long avenues of oaks, and now by groves of beeches, with their graceful downward-sweeping branches almost meeting overhead; by friendly tangled hedgerows of familiar hawthorn, this winter literally blazing with berries, and hazel and snowberry, and stretches of woodland where pine and larch are intermingled with chestnut and sycamore. There are rabbits in the road and magpies everywhere; and all the foliage has that something of added richness and luxuriance as compared with that of England which is noticeable throughout the west and south of Ireland.

At Belleek is the famous pottery, where visitors are made informally welcome and are enabled to see all the stages in the process of making the dainty ware; and to one who does not know how the fragile teacups are made the method in its mere simplicity is astonishing. Belleek ware, with its highly iridescent glaze and its pretty ornamentation of roses and shamrocks, appeals less to the taste of to-day than it did to that of a few years ago. But the ware has earned, as it deserved, a high reputation, and it would seem as if it ought not to be difficult to bring it more into line with modern taste and to build up here an industry of the first importance.

From Belleek to Ballyshannon the River Erne pours in a series of tumultuous rapids, amid which is the famous salmon leap, where the fish go up falls, the top of which is 10 ft. above high water and 16 ft. above low. Both Belleek and Ballyshannon are picturesquely situated, the latter especially with the graceful twelve-arch bridge spanning the rushing water, and above the bridge the grey walls of the town climbing up the slope of a hill which is finely dominated by the spire of the church. According to tradition it was at Ballyshannon that the first human settlement, under one Parthalon, was made in Ireland by Greeks, who had the country to themselves for some three hundred years until the Neme-

dians came from Scythia. From Ballyshannon, as the sea grows nearer, the country becomes more open and stone walls take the place of woods and hedgerows, until Bundoran is reached, where there is a strange fascination in the wide views of Donegal Bay and an almost desolate and fantastic coast. Bundoran has of late years become one of the popular coast resorts of Ireland. Here the railway company has built a first-class hotel for the summer season, and the golf course ranks among the best in the country. But one of the chief attractions of all this region is its ruins and its legendary and historical associations.

The influence of history on individual places, as in the case of Derry, has been mentioned. But apart from the living memory of particular historical incidents, what the visitor to Ireland will be even more conscious of is the curious and almost indefinable sense of the abiding nearness of the past to the life of the present day. Ireland is a "haunted land"; not only, or even chiefly, as the phrase has been used by other writers, because of the widespread belief in the Fairies--the Other People--but because the ghost of the past walks visibly abroad in it at noonday. One is sensible of it in the streets and reposeful squares, in the stately old houses of Dublin, and not less in the remotest bogs and hillsides and on the silent islands of the loughs. There are, presumably, two reasons for this.

In the first place, whether for good or ill, the course of Irish events has for a long time past tended to throw men's minds back upon their history. All so-called national movements (we use the phrase without prejudice) have relied for their inspiration largely on the things of long ago.

Secondly, for well-understood causes, Ireland has been less affected by the spirit of the last century than any other part of the British Isles, perhaps less than any European country; she has taken less advantage of the machinery of modern "progress," and has been less defaced by it, and this is true both spiritually and physically. As her people have until very recently, at least, been less apt to learn--certainly less engrossed in--the industrial lessons of the new age, so civilization has not obliterated the ruins and relics

of ancient times which sprinkle the country in almost unthinkable numbers. It has not been necessary to sweep away old buildings to make room for a growing population; but in forlorn potato patches and by undrained bogs the monuments still stand, and are respected, which a more active agricultural and industrial life would have wiped away. Ireland has not left her history behind her, but has stayed and dwelt with it; and it is alike difficult for the Irishman to speak or think of his country except in terms of the past, and for the visitor not to see the stamp of that past colouring all the face of the land. And where the old days are still so near it is no wonder that there is a constant dream—and a striving—to return to them: to restore the old language, revive old folk-songs and customs, and rebuild the institutions and the social fabric of another day. It may be that with the new prosperity which is now being born in Ireland and the quickening of the modern spirit which must inevitably accompany it there will be a reaction, and Ireland will turn her eyes to look only on the future. If so she may well come to rejoice that the awakening was delayed until so late. The ancient memorials which have lived so long, less by any positive care for their preservation than by the mere lack of necessity for interfering with them, will now be jealously and purposely cherished; and in them Ireland has a possession hardly to be matched for richness in any other country.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Enniskillen there are many of these relics of various ages. Two miles away in the lough is the Island of Devenish, with its ruins, its Ogam stones and holed stones, and perhaps the most perfect "round tower" in Ireland, 84 ft. high. A little further away in another direction on another island is a crannoge with a remarkable "lettered cave." Towards the coast, about Ballyshannon and Bundoran, are ruins of many castles and fortresses and churches, as well as ancient cromlechs, cairns, and stone circles. But the number of such things scattered over Ireland is best illustrated by the statement that of so-called "raths" alone (under which term are commonly, if erroneously, grouped all the various types of old camps or fortified dwell-

ings) some 29,000 are now known and recorded. Cromlechs must be much more numerous than the traditional 366, based on the belief that Dermot and Graine built them as sleeping places, one for each night of a year. Among the islands of the loughs are many crannoges. Cairns and stone circles are to be found all over the country. In addition to these are a quantity of early Christian relics, ruins of old oratories and primitive churches, with some seventy round towers in divers localities, and a countless number of castles and fortified places, memorials of Ireland's turbulent history. Most of the relics, especially those of a prehistoric origin, are now regarded with more or less of superstitious awe by the peasantry; many of them also are turned to humble uses in the daily life of the people, for a notorious Ogam stone, now reposing in Trinity College, Dublin, was rescued (or perhaps captured) by a distinguished professor of that institution from an island where it formed part of—was it, not?—a pig-stye. In this wealth of old memorials Ireland has an almost bewildering fascination for the visitor.

D—DOWN THE WEST SIDE

The trip from Enniskillen to Sligo by rail, through Glenfarne and Manor Hamilton and Ballisodare, with the views of Lough Macnean, passes through some characteristic Irish scenery and it is a region which draws every year a number of tourists for the sake of its fishing. Like Donegal, the counties of Leitrim and Sligo are both within the area of the Congested Districts. From the railway are visible some stretches of good arable land well tilled and of rich pasture, as in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns mentioned, while, on the latter half of the route, there are glimpses of fine estates, with rhododendron thickets, wooded hills, and bracken-covered slopes. But still more are there, especially from Enniskillen to Glenfarne, wide expanses of lean and stony moor and thankless-looking bog, dotted with piled "turfs" and seamed with cutting wherein the brown bog-water stands. The roads in wet weather are deep in mud and the occasional

clumps of unreconstructed peasant dwellings, with their forlorn potato patches, where women are at work, and small scraps of cultivable land, look peculiarly unalluring.

It has been wisely said, however, that, in its external appearance, the leaner Irish land curiously resembles its poorer people. Both go, as it were, smiling in their rags. The Irish agriculturist, if we may believe native economic writers, is seldom as poor as he looks. In all communities the appearance of the people and their dress are governed by the accepted canons of the neighbourhood; and rural Irish standards are not exacting. Wherefore a man who goes clad, as has been said, in "rags with which no self-respecting scarecrow would exchange," can often give good dowries to his daughters. The Irish peasant is said also to be almost universally badly nourished ("Almost every one in Ireland," says Mr. Padraic Colum, "is badly fed"), yet almost every one maintains an air of gallant content. And similarly the hungriest of the land, by some trick of atmosphere and coloration, looks happy in its poverty. Here too, in districts where the land is most obviously incapable of properly supporting its inhabitants and the average holdings fall lamentably below the economic standard, one sees most conspicuously the evidences of the great change which is coming over rural Ireland, the beneficent revolution which is adding yet one more class of ruin to the already abundant antiquities of the haunted land. These are ruins which it is a delight to see.

They are the ruins of the old stone and mud-built cottages, which are scattered in countless numbers about the land. Unlovely as human habitations, when the doors are gone and the thatched roof has fallen in, and they stand, by the roadside or in the field, each in its own quagmire, they look peculiarly untempting. For each of these crumbling and untenanted hovels a new cottage has arisen of the type now built by the authorities, not beautiful perhaps, but well-constructed, slate-roofed, and wholesome, vastly more sanitary than the old dwellings, and each having its plot of land and such

outbuildings as do away with the necessity for the pigs and poultry to share accommodations with the family. Such a cottage, with half an acre or an acre of land, the farm labourer now occupies for a rent of 2s. or half-a-crown a week. There are those who protest against the generosity of the terms, claiming that it is inequitable that one-half of the agricultural labourer's rent should be paid by the ratepayers, and that the system is merely an encouragement to the payment of low wages. These are questions with which the stranger, ignorant of the standards of Irish life, had best not meddle; but what he cannot fail to see is that all over Ireland an extraordinary process of regeneration is going on.

The actual work of the rehousing of the labourers is done by the Rural District Councils, under the control (which it may be said, incidentally, has in practice been found very necessary) of the Local Government Board. The Councils acquire the plots of land, build the cottages, and let them to the labourers; the Labourers Acts of 1906 and 1911 having provided £5,250,000 for the purpose. The majority of the labourers in rural England or Scotland may now well envy the condition of the people who but a short time ago were confessedly "the worst-housed classes in the United Kingdom."

As one travels about the country, especially in its remoter parts, at any other time than in summer, if a fellow-passenger comes to share a first-class compartment on the railway, the chances are that he will be an official of the Department of Agriculture or of one of the Government Boards, an Inspector of the Land Commission, an Agent of the Congested Districts Board, or a representative of the I.A.O.S. You will meet them on the roads and in the hotels in small towns, and will see them at work about the country. Invariably they will be found excellent and instructive company, and full of keenness for their work; and, whatever may be the details of the information which the stranger gathers from them, his general conclusion cannot fail to be the same—namely, that in no country in the world, now or at any other time, has there been or is there now such earnest effort made by any Government to ameliorate

the conditions of the people. The functions of the various bodies and the work which they are doing will be described in later chapters. With the details of their operation or with their politics we are not here concerned; but the evidence of their work is on every hand, and what is certain is that with the transfer of the land and the improvements in drainage and in other ways that are being made, with the help which is being given to agriculture and every form of rural industry, and with the rehousing of the labourers, the condition of Ireland is being so rapidly transformed that every trace of excuse for agricultural discontent is disappearing.

Sligo, again, enjoys conspicuously the advantage, of which we have spoken as being common to so many of the larger towns in Ireland, of occupying a site of unusual beauty, situated as it is at the head of Sligo Bay, with mountains encircling it on all its landward sides, the River Garroogue cutting it in two, and, close at hand, Lough Gill, perhaps the loveliest (one always makes a reservation in favour of the Killarney district) of all the Irish loughs. The town is less important than once it was, but there are few places in Ireland which, for the scenery and for the ancient monuments in the neighbourhood, are better worth a visit. The ruins of Sligo Abbey contain interesting fifteenth century work and specimens of characteristic Irish ornamentation. But the chief attraction of Sligo is its surroundings, with Lough Gill itself, Glencar, its lake and waterfall, the picturesque views on the river, Knocknaree and the other hills, and, less than five miles from the centre of the town in one direction, the "Irish Stonehenge," in the Deer Park on Lough Gill, and, a mile nearer in another direction, the extraordinary collection of cromlechs and stone circles at Carrowmore, which is believed to mark the burying-ground of those who fell in the great battle of North Moytura between the Danaan and Fomorian.

In all there are at Carrowmore some sixty megalithic remains—cairns, cromlechs, and stone circles—scattered over a narrow area. The visitor, if he be wise, will walk out to Carrowmore. It is an easy walk, and if he loses his way there is no peasant but, for the sake of

putting him right, will go almost the whole road with him. Many of the remains lie but a few yards away—first on one side and then on the other—from the winding country road. Most of them are in cultivated fields, some in pasture. The visitor will probably have them, and seemingly the whole wide country, to himself. He can wander as he pleases over the fields from one group of relics to another. He can sit upon the stones and smoke and try to reconstruct his history; for here, as generally in Ireland, the ancient remains lie untended—and unharmed—about the land which has probably changed but little since the day when they were first constructed. Here, almost more than anywhere else, one is conscious of that feeling of the nearness in Ireland to the present of the olden days. These stones, lying thus unheeded in the fields where the peasants still pursue, in leisurely fashion as it seems, their not ostentatiously modern agricultural operations, bring up visions of the centuries with a curious and direct reality.

From Sligo to Galway, again, is an easy trip by railway, passing through Tobercurry, Swineford, Claremorris, Tuam, and Athenry—Athenry (please pronounce it “Athen-rye”), a small town rich in remains of buildings of historical and antiquarian interest; Claremorris, a prosperous agricultural centre, whence one can visit Knock, the “Irish Lourdes”; Tuam, with its ancient ecclesiastical honours and still possessing in the cathedral some superb Norman work of the first half of the twelfth century.

Sligo, Mayo, Galway, the counties through which the road runs from Sligo to Galway, are all included in the Congested Districts. It is on the west side of the counties, nearer to the coast, that distress has been most acute, where famine has most often stalked through the land, and where the land agitation found its chief justification and its surest support. But the part of the counties through which the line runs, though inland, has not been ignorant either of suffering or of passion. There are districts, patches rather, of good agricultural land; but most of the landscape presents the same wide expanse of desolate moor and treeless bog, the dark land seamed and scarred in all directions with black peat-cuttings and dotted every-

where with piles of heaped turfs. Inhabitants, though many enough for such a region, seem few, and among them one notices most the women working in the rare fields or driving cattle along the roads.

For any one who is interested in the larger problems of Ireland there are few better places in which to see the regeneration that is being brought about than in this immediate neighbourhood, though not directly on the line of the railway. At Castlebar, in County Mayo, or Castlerea, in Roscommon (both easily accessible by rail from Clarendon), or Ballaghaderreen (not far from Castlerea and connected by rail with Sligo), very important work has been done and is now in progress, not only in the purchase, rearrangement, and resale of land but in drainage, road-making, the building of cottages, and other improvements. Castlebar is also the centre of a homespun tweed industry of no small importance, which was started by the Countess of Lucan some twenty years ago. The great Lucan estate here, which included 30,000 acres, has been cut up into peasant holdings.

As one approaches Galway by Athenry one sees a better class of country, and the amount of farm produce which finds its way into the town of Galway shows that there is more land of good quality than, in passing through it, one might suspect. The county contains more cattle than any county in Ulster and more sheep than the whole of that province. It holds, indeed, almost one-sixth of all the sheep in Ireland, or a total of over 600,000 sheep of a total of 3,800,000. The city of Galway, though it still contains a population of some 13,000, has fallen on poor times. By emigration, by the disappearance of the landlord class, and the withdrawal of capital (these are the causes which local opinion gives for the decline), the factories of the city have one after another shut down, till now, of a once considerable manufacturing centre, only one flour mill and one woollen mill remain. The factory buildings standing empty, for all that there is good water-power going to waste and excellent access to markets both by rail and sea, make a melancholy sight. There was a time when Galway possessed a practical monopoly of the trade with Spain (a connexion which has left its traces in the architecture of many of the houses and in

the appearance of some of the people), and more recently for a time Transatlantic mails were carried from Galway to America. These advantages have drifted away from it. Now, indeed, a scheme is on foot by which it is hoped to recover some of the lost greatness of the port through the establishment of a "Through Ireland" line of mail and passenger steamers to Canada, with a train-ferry across the Irish Channel; and there are sound arguments in favour of the project, the sea route from Galway to St. John's, N.F., being but 1,656 miles, to Halifax 2,165, and to New York only 2,700; while, overland to Dublin and thence via Holyhead, Galway is only 11½ hours from London. Situated as it is, it is impossible not to believe that the town's decay is largely its own fault. The Parliamentary Committee on Harbours, of 1884, reported that it was the "unanimous opinion of both naval and mercantile officers that Galway Bay is the most suitable site for a great national harbour."

Galway has had a long and sometimes turbulent history. The old feud between the thirteen Tribes of Galway and the native Irish has been made the subject of literature enough. A by-law of the city of the early sixteenth century provided that "neither O' nor Mac shall swaggere ne strutte through the strettes," and the inscription which used to stand over the West gate was eloquent :

From the fury of the O'Flaherties
Good Lord deliver us!

There are still objects of historical and architectural interest in what Thackeray called the "wild, fierce, and most original old town," the most famous being Lynch's Castle, a square, forbidding grey house in the main street of the town, with gargoyle-like ornamentation, where lived that stern old magistrate James Lynch Fitzstephen, who, in the latter days of the fifteenth century, condemned his own son to death for murder and, because none other could be found to carry out the sentence, hanged him with his own hands. A wild and fierce old town, truly!

The salmon and herring fisheries of Galway have long been of considerable importance, and in the Claddagh, as the fishermen's quarter of the town is

called, there is one of the most picturesque communities to be seen in Ireland, though the traditional dress of the women is falling into disuse and many of the old customs and institutions have been abandoned. In addition to its commercial fisheries Galway is also an excellent base for the sporting fisherman. But the real wonder of Galway lies in what is beyond it, for it is the gateway to the enchanted land of Connemara and "Iar Connacht."

"The Clifden car which carries the Dublin letters into the heart of Connemara conducts the passengers over one of the most wild and beautiful districts that it is ever the fortune of a traveller to examine; and I could not help thinking as we passed through it at how much pains and expense honest English Cockneys are to go and look after natural beauties far inferior, in countries which, though more distant, are not a whit more strange than this one. No doubt, ere long, when people know how easy the task is, the rush of London tourism will come this way; and I shall be very happy if these pages shall be able to awaken in one bosom, beating in Tooley Street or the Temple, the desire to travel towards Ireland next year."

It is seventy years since Thackeray wrote those words. The tide of "London tourism" does indeed set Connaught-wards somewhat less feebly than it did; yet, in proportion to the rush to foreign countries, it is probably no greater now than it was in 1843. It is amazing in Ireland itself to find how many cultivated and wide-travelled people—in Dublin, in Belfast, in Cork—have never seen the beauties of Connemara; yet it is beyond question one of the strangest and most romantic regions in the world, an almost incredible country. Nowadays one may go by rail, over the Midland Railway, from Galway to Clifden. In the tourist season there are motor-coaches to help him. Or he can still more pleasurably use the old roads and travel more independently in motor-car or jaunting car. Or there are steamers which run in summer from Galway to Maam and other points. But it does not matter what means of locomotion one uses; it cannot be other than a memorable experience.

Oughterrard, Maam Cross, Recess, Ballynahinch, Clifden; the Ten Pins (or Bens) of Connaught, Maam Bridge, and so to Joyce's Country; south from Maam Cross to Lake Ahalia, by Costelloe and Cashlar Bay, where the Aran Isles lie close out to sea, and back by the unbelievable coast-road through Spiddal to Galway again; it makes little difference what route one takes, for all are beautiful, with a beauty that is unique.

To say that Connemara is one huge ruddy, treeless waste of bog and moorland, strewn with stones as hardly any wilderness in the world is strewn, all reticulated with winding loughs and traversed in every direction by streams of brown bog-water, where roads of excellent motoring surface run always to where great hills are shouldering into the sky—all this conveys nothing but a sense of wildness and sterility. But the outstanding quality of the Connemara landscape is its warmth and cordiality. Hardly can a region be imagined which should be more forbidding in its utter stoniness; such a land as that of which Sir John Mandeville said: "'Twere a good land to grow thistles." Yet hardly is there one to be found more alluring, by that trick of coloration and atmosphere which constantly baffles one in Ireland.

Of course there are fairies in Connemara. What are all the stones for else? "Did you ever see a fairy or suchlike?" Mr. W. B. Yeats tells us that he asked of an old man. "Amn't I annoyed with them?" was the answer. And the merest tourist can almost see them any day—the Sidhe (which we are told to pronounce "She")—even in broad daylight. He will not quite see them, except perhaps with the tail of his eye, because they are always just behind a stone when one looks full at them. But that any man can spend his life here and walk these wild moors at night and not sometimes surprise them is incredible. To spend a summer here tenting, somewhere amid the tangled loughs, loafing and fishing, . . . perhaps one would catch the Leprechaun! A clever entomologist might do worse than try.

The people of this eerie land are no less interesting

to an English visitor than the land itself. Many of the men speak English, if at all, as if it were a foreign language with quaint Gaelic forms of speech. The women go clad in the red petticoat of the country, and not the women and girls alone. To the stranger it may seem at first as if the children were all girls, for nearly all are red-petticoated; but some, he will come to notice, are crop-headed and have singularly free movements as they run beside his car and their voices are strangely boy-like. At last he will learn to tell them apart. It is said that the petticoats are put on boys and girls alike at first to deceive the fairies, because the Other People never steal little girls. But many of the boys, twelve and thirteen years of age, who still go dressed like girls are surely old enough to be fairy-proof. It is doubtless, however, a free and convenient garb, which certainly adds to the picturesqueness and the sense of foreignness in an extraordinarily picturesque and foreign-seeming country; and probably it is also economical. And economy, even with the fishing, is a stern necessity here. The holdings, even where they have been re-arranged and "striped," look so small and unpromising that it must be hard work in the best of seasons to wring a living from them; mere pocket-handkerchiefs of arable land, though the pockets of good soil are said to be very rich, surrounded with stone walls, the stone gathered from their surfaces, which, if they were laid flat, would almost completely cover them again. It is an amazing country of which it is almost unforgivable that Englishmen, as Thackeray complained so long ago, should still know so little.

E—THE SOUTHERN COUNTIES

It is not possible here to speak at length of County Clare, though here is some of the finest coast scenery in Ireland, and nowhere are ancient relics more numerous, cromlechs and old stone forts, with ruined castles and abbeys of a later date. The tourist can now visit much of the finest scenery in the county comfortably by railway, which reaches the coast at Ennistymon and follows it thence southward by

Lahinch and Miltown Malbay to Killee and Kilrush at the mouth of the Shannon. From Ennistymon again it is only nine miles by car to Lisdoonvarna, with its spa and mineral springs, which is also accessible by a picturesque road full of variety from Ballyvaughan, whither steamers run regularly from Galway. For present purposes, however, there is the easy and direct run south from Galway by Athenry, Gort, and Ennis to Limerick; and now one passes through a pastoral country by nature visibly richer than any that one has yet seen in Ireland. The approach to Limerick itself is altogether charming.

With the exception of Londonderry, there is perhaps no town in Ireland in which its history still bulks so large as it does in Limerick, the City of the Violated Treaty. As in Londonderry, as one stands on Thomond Bridge and sees the old castle, which still bears the marks of the English artillery, it is extremely easy to reconstruct the story, if not of the siege, at least of the final assault and capture of the town. The outlook from the bridge is exceptionally fine. As one looks upstream the wide Shannon comes winding down between green meadows from the purple hills in the distance. Downstream lies the city, with its smoke, its factory chimneys, and its spires. At one end of the bridge, abutting close upon it, are the grand grey walls and towers of the Castle, and at the other end stands the Treaty Stone, raised upon a pedestal; the stone on which the ill-famed treaty of 1691 is believed to have been signed. In its Cathedral, dating from the twelfth century, but much rebuilt and altered, and in many of the buildings in the old English town and Irish town, Limerick still keeps a number of interesting relics of the past; but the interest of that past does not prevent it from being in the present a busy, prosperous, and wholesome city. Its situation on the Shannon is magnificent, and there is no reason why with the new spirit which is coming over Ireland, and especially with the growth which is only just beginning in this rich section of the South, Limerick should not come to be a much more important place than it is to-day.

As frontispiece to this volume there is given a map of County Limerick, drawn to scale, showing the extent

to which land purchase and its transfer to the tenantry have already proceeded. Limerick is not taken as being in any way exceptional among the counties of Ireland, but rather because it is fairly typical. Something like two-thirds of the land has already been purchased, and the process will continue; and although there are parts of Ireland where the visitor will be told that the tenantry do not understand ownership, but starve their land when they get it, this is undoubtedly untrue of at least this Southern country. The new owners as a rule are eager to make improvements. The visible advance which has been made in the last few years is already considerable. With the help of "the Department," of the Congested Districts Board, and of the co-operative movement directed from the Plunkett House, the productiveness of the land is being immensely increased, and the wealth of the agricultural population, as shown by the bank statements, and their purchasing power grow in proportion. That there are drawbacks to the change which is coming over the land no one will deny, especially drawbacks of a social kind, which such a community as Limerick, wherein hunting and fishing and good fellowship count for so much, cannot but feel acutely. But from the industrial point of view it is difficult not to believe that an awakening has begun which will bring larger results than a few decades ago most people would have dreamed to be possible. And Limerick, by reason of its situation and of the nature of the surrounding country, is one of the cities which should profit greatly.

Mention was made in a preceding chapter of the closely cultivated look of the land in Ulster, with its small farms and variegated tillage. Munster, on the other hand, is a dairying and cattle-raising province, and the tendency is more and more to put the richer land into pasture and use for tillage only the poorer parts. In the whole of Ireland the area of land under crops has shrunk from 5,682,992 acres in 1855 to 3,920,962 acres in 1912, while the numbers of all kinds of animals have increased. In Munster last year there were 765,000 acres of grass (of which 535,000 acres were permanent meadow), as against 264,000 acres in

all kinds of corn crops, of which 209,000 were in oats. There were only 13,000 acres of wheat. On the other hand, there were 1,655,000 cattle in the province, 785,000 sheep, 432,000 pigs, and 171,000 horses.

The Census of 1911 showed that the shrinkage in population, which had reduced the number of people in Ireland from over eight millions in 1841 to less than 4½ millions in 1901, had almost ceased. As in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin, so also in the three large county boroughs of Munster—in Waterford, in Cork, and, in Limerick—the tide had actually turned, and each of these showed a positive increase in urban population. In the three counties as a whole the population was still decreasing, but very slightly. In County Limerick the loss in the decade had been only 3 per cent.; and there is some reason to believe that a quinquennial census would have shown that that loss had taken place entirely in the first five years. It is at least the general opinion that the ebb has now finally ended, and all signs seem to indicate that the flow of reviving prosperity has fairly begun.

Meanwhile the city of rhymes and pretty women is already an industrial centre of magnitude, being the sixth port in Ireland and having a population of about 46,000. Its bacon-curing establishments are said to slaughter 10,000 pigs a week. It is a flour-milling centre of importance. An interesting place to visit is the Messrs. Cleeve's great condensed milk factory, where every stage of the process may be seen, from making the cans and the wooden cases in which they are packed for shipment to the treatment of the milk itself from the time when it comes into the doors until it is sealed up in the tins; the whole being done under conditions of extreme cleanliness and with the greatest precautions against contamination of or impurity in the product. At the lace school the visitor can see the beautiful Limerick laces being made, both tam-bour and the perhaps daintiest of all laces made, "needle-run."

Moreover, Limerick is an extremely pleasant place to visit. It has the best hotel to be found in any large town in Ireland except Cork and Dublin, and the city has a reputation for hospitality which the present residents have no intention of permitting to decline. How

Limerick, however, reconciles its notorious love of horses with the condition of some of the roads in its immediate vicinity is a matter for it to settle with its own conscience.

There are many charming excursions to be made, as down the Shannon to Kilrush, and thence to the popular watering-place Kilkee; by water, rail, or road to Killaloe and to Lough Derg and Castleconnell, a name sacred in the ears of fishermen. Less than a dozen miles away, also, is Adare, with the manor, the seat of the Earls of Dunraven, by whose care the fine ruins of the three old friaries have been well preserved. In many other ways the village owes an incalculable debt to the same source. It is almost a model village: the inn is a delight, the great stud farm has done good service to Irish horse-breeding, and extremely interesting work is being done here in encouraging the growing of tobacco. Besides cigarettes made from tobacco grown on the estate, there are manufactured at Adare, under ideal cottage conditions, Turkish cigarettes of approximately the highest grade that it is possible to buy.

From Limerick also the railway runs, by Rathkeale, Newcastle, Abbeyfeale, and Listowel, to Tralee, a town of some 10,000 people which abounds in romantic legends of the Desmonds. And five miles away is Ardferit, with ruins which are well worth a visit; and twenty-one miles away by rail, Killarney.

Of Killarney it is useless to attempt to speak. It is the one place in Ireland which a reasonable proportion of the people of the British Isles have visited for pleasure, and of which everybody knows the name. There are some who hold that there is no scenery in the world more beautiful than that of these lakes; others have pet views of their own which they think excel anything in the Killarney district. It is not a subject on which argument, still less dogmatism, is possible. Water and foliage and hills—they are the ingredients out of which all the most appealing scenery of the world is made. It is difficult to see how they could be combined more charmingly than they are about Lough Leane, Muckross, and the Upper Lake. One may advance that in this or that particular some view on the English Lakes, in Italy or Spain, in Hon-

lulu, Dominica, or Ceylon, or some yet remoter island of the seas, surpasses anything at Killarney. It may be so, to the eye of one or another. It remains that Killarney is lovely beyond words, and no description or tribute can add anything to its fame.

Nor is it possible here to describe or even to mention the enchanting places of which this south-west of Ireland is full. The visitor can go to Bantry or Kenmare by rail and take the wonderful road between the two by Glengariff; or he can go out by Bere Haven to Ballydonegan; or from Kenmare along the Kenmare river to Parknasilla and on to Sneem and the island of Garinish; or he can go, again by rail, to Skibbereen and thence to Baltimore, and look out to sea to Cape Clear and the Fastnet light, and to Lough Hyne. He can do any of these things and fifty others, and any one will abundantly repay him. For, as was said at the beginning of this chapter, the outstanding fact about the scenery of Ireland is the extraordinary wealth of places which in any other part of the United Kingdom would be famous "beauty spots," and nowhere is that wealth more bewildering than here in the extreme south-west. But for most of the trips round this region the base will almost necessarily be Cork.

It is difficult to speak of Cork without quoting Spenser's

The spreading Lee that, like an Island fayre,
Encloseth Corke with his divided floode.

To-day Cork has spread a good way outside the Island, and with a population of more than 200,000 is the third city in Ireland. It has over four miles of quays, some truly imposing streets, large woollen-milling, brewing, distilling, milling, and bacon-curing industries, besides shipbuilding and a harbour of which any resident of Cork will tell you that it is second only to that of Sydney among the harbours of the world. Some of the more timid may be willing to make a reservation in favour of Rio. The Royal Dockyard at Haulbowline, in Queenstown Harbour, employs about 1,000 men. In addition Cork has, in the Imperial, the only hotel in any large city in Ireland which is in the same class with the Shelbourne in Dublin. The hotel

question indeed is a vexing one to the tourist in Ireland.

The words "in any large city" were purposely used above, because there are many excellent hotels at smaller places, especially at seaside resorts, commonly built by the railway companies and often open only in the summer, though not a few, as for example that at Portrush, are open all the year round. In general it may be said that at any popular watering-place or point sufficiently famous for its beauty to attract large numbers of tourists good hotels will be found. Also in many small villages, as at Adare and at Naas, the local inn has, under patronage, been made delightful. It is in the ordinary towns of considerable size that the traveller is likely to suffer discomfort, and in some towns which have been spoken of in this chapter the discomfort of the hotels is only mitigated by the conspicuousness in the staff of the seemingly universal Irish trait of exceeding willingness to do another man's work. Nobody may be attending to his own task, nor apparently is any authority suggesting that he should; but, in compensation, everybody will gladly do his fellow's. Instead of being in a commercial institution where paid servants perform each his allotted task, the visitor in many Irish hotels is made to feel that he is in a disorderly but extremely friendly house, where everybody equally deplores the shortcomings of the establishment and is cheerfully ready to set to work—for the moment—to atone for them. If a waiter cannot be found the manager will always take his place, and if you ring for a chambermaid long enough you will—ultimately—get the hall porter. Not seldom one may suspect that boots is doing duty for the cook. But the visitor to Cork will have nothing to complain of.

Cork has had a stirring history, but retains fewer traces of that history, whether in remains of military structures or in ecclesiastical relics of an early date, than almost any other considerable town in Ireland. On the other hand, some of the modern buildings, as especially the Cathedral, are indubitably fine, while outside the city the Park and Racecourse, of 240 acres, the promenade known as the Marina, and the once fashionable Mardyke are attractive. An institution of which Cork is rightly proud also is the University

(formerly Queen's) College, one of the 'constituent colleges of the National University, the buildings of which would, as Macaulay said, be a credit to Oxford itself. The number of students steadily increases with every term, and at the close of the last academic year numbered 430, as against only 171 eleven years ago. Of the 430, 335 are Roman Catholics. The new engineering laboratories, just completed, are undoubtedly the best equipped in the country; and under the presidency of Sir Bertram Windle the whole college is pervaded with a spirit of earnestness and enthusiasm. Not the least of the ambitions of the college is the attaining of independent university status.

The visitor to Cork will, of course, visit Blarney. It is easily accessible by rail, but it is best, if practicable, to go by motor-car, not direct, but in leisurely fashion and by devious routes, to explore the country. On every side is evidence of its richness and prosperity, and from many points one attains noble views of wide-spreading, chequer-board, landscape reaching to the distant Kerry hills. One road in particular there is, by Dripsey and Innishcarra, running high up along the hillside, with the River Lee winding far below, which well deserves to be world-famous. From Innishcarra, by way of St. Ann's, to Blarney the road is full of variety and charm. Blarney Castle, itself, with its great, square, machicolated tower, is too well known to need description, as is the Stone that—

Whoever kisses
Oh, he never misses
To grow eloquent.

To kiss the stone, however, even in these days when one no longer has to be held head downwards outside the battlements, still demands some display of athleticism as well as a stout friend or two to hold the kisser's legs. But the satisfaction of accomplishing the feat is worth the trouble. Any incidental acquirement in mellifluousness may be credited as pure gain.

At Blarney also are made the famous Blarney tweeds.

From Cork there is an excellent train service by the Great Southern and Western Railway, through

Mallow, on the beautifully wooded shores of the Blackwater, by Tipperary under the Galtee hills (whence also Caher and Cashel and Clonmel are within easy reach) through Thurles, scene of the famous Synod and seat of the Archbishopric (whence also the impressive ruins of Holycross Abbey can be visited), through Maryborough, capital of Queen's County, and Kildare, with its old Cathedral, round tower, and castle, and many other objects of great antiquarian interest, to Dublin. From Cork also a line runs to the coast at Youghal (which is pronounced very nearly as if it were spelled "Yawl," but not quite), and, more important, before returning to Dublin the visitor should go by Mallow through Dungarvan to Waterford and Wexford.

It is difficult to speak of Waterford as an attractive city, but of the three county boroughs of the South which showed an increase in population by the last Census, it was Waterford which showed the largest. The present population is about 27,000. Standing on the border of a fine country, with some handsome houses, it is itself a port of importance, especially for the shipment of cattle. Industrially the chief feature of the town is its large bacon-curing establishments.

Wexford occupies a fine situation on a hillside overlooking the Slaney and Wexford Haven. Its strategical value, commanding one of the most accessible points for purposes of invasion on the whole coast of Ireland, has assured it a tempestuous history, and some remnants of the fourteenth-century walls, which succeeded others still earlier which encompassed a smaller circuit, still remain; while the place is rich in legends of bloodshed, from the days of the first Danish settlement to the notorious massacre of 1798. It is a quaint old-fashioned town of narrow streets, but it contains a population of over 11,000, and is prosperous, with its fisheries and its industries, which include especially brewing and distilling and the manufacture of agricultural implements.

From Wexford it may be that the tourist will not wish to return to Dublin at all, for from Rosslare, nine miles away, runs the Great Western Railway route to England by Fishguard, which is growing so rapidly in popularity. The route between Dublin

and Wexford, however, in one direction or the other, should be made for its own sake, even if it be not possible to stop in Enniscorthy, in Arklow, or Wicklow on the way; for the coast abounds in fine scenery, and County Wicklow is one of the most attractive parts of the United Kingdom, with, as has the neighbouring county of Kildare, an enjoyable country life. The visitor returning thus to Dublin will arrive with the impression, which will have been with him on the whole circuit of the country, of the extraordinary beauty of the scenery in general, maintained to the last.

In the foregoing it has not been attempted, as it would be impossible, to write a condensed guide to Ireland. Innumerable places of note—large towns, fine scenery, great mountain regions, and beautiful lake districts—have not even been mentioned by name. There is nothing of all the eastern country between Dublin and Belfast, Meath and Louth, Armagh and County Down, with such towns as Armagh, Dundalk, Drogheda, Navan, and the rapidly growing industrial centre of Portadown. All that has been aimed at is to give an "impression" of the chief characteristics of the country, its scenery, its people, its industries, its historical conditions and social atmosphere, as they are likely to strike the mind of the visitor heretofore ignorant of Ireland. For Dublin itself, it is treated in another chapter by another hand.

CHAPTER III

DUBLIN

WHEN Arthur Young, author of the "Tour in Ireland," visited Dublin in 1776 he sailed from Holyhead and arrived at Dunleary after a voyage of twenty-two hours. The modern traveller will probably follow the same course. He will cross from Holyhead and arrive at Dunleary, known as Kingstown since the departure from there of King George IV. in 1821; but the passage, which lasted nearly a day over a century ago, now occupies about three hours.

There are other ways of reaching Dublin from England. The journey to the North Wall from Holyhead is practically identical, from a spectacular point of view, with that to Kingstown; and another route is by Fishguard and Rosslare, by which the traveller crossing to the south-east of Ireland reaches Dublin by train. But he who admires noble scenery should take the Kingstown or North Wall route, and if possible cross the Channel on a night in late spring or early autumn, so that he may see in the rising dawn the beautiful bay, which has been compared to that of Naples.

All around the eye rests on scenes the names of which are eloquent of history—history of invasions, conquests, battles, where the Irish have struggled, now successfully, now unsuccessfully, against Dane and Norman and English. Bray Head, round which the railway now runs peacefully down into the vales of Wicklow and Wexford, calls up visions of the native O'Tooles and O'Byrnes with whom the citizens of Dublin many a time did battle. Clontarf, a suburb on the coast between the city and Howth, is the scene of the memorable defeat of the Danes by the Irish

under Brian Boroimhe. Memories of Danish occupation still live in many local names: The Fingalls, or fair strangers, as distinguished from the Duvgalls (dark strangers), gave their name to the northern district of Dublin, and the name still remains in the title of a branch of the Plunkett family. Howth, again, is the Danish *hofed*, a head; and the islands of Lambay and Ireland's Eye, and the detached rocks of Dalkey and Skerries, show in their terminations the Danish word for an island.

In the city itself the names of churches, the early foundations of which have mostly disappeared, give evidence of the Celtic period, and of the subsequent Danish occupation. In the district still known as the Coombe, that is to say the "combe," or valley, through which the now subterranean River Poddle once flowed, there are no fewer than five churches bearing Celtic designations—namely, St. Patrick's *in insula* (the island being formed by two branches of the Poddle), which is supposed to have been founded by St. Patrick, on the site where the present Cathedral stands; St. Michael le Pole, another Celtic foundation, which derives its name from the same pool, or Poddle; the churches of St. Bridget and St. Martin; and that of St. Kevin, named after the saint of Glendalough.

Danish names are not wanting in the city and suburbs. Thus Oxmanstown (Ostman's town) in the north marks the quarter to which the Eastmen were gradually confined as their power waned. In this respect it may be compared to Irishtown, outside Dublin, which, as pointed out by Mahaffy, probably owes its existence to the decree of Henry Cromwell and Council in 1655, that no Irishman should live within two miles of Dublin. There are traces also of three Danish abbeys, and in addition, Christchurch, the older of the two Dublin Cathedrals, was founded by the Danes. The Black Book of Christchurch records that Sitric, son of Ablef, Earl of Dublin, styled Sitric III. on his coins, gave the site of the church, together with certain other land, to Donagh, the first Bishop of Dublin, in 1028. Some of the remains of the original foundation are still in existence. One hundred and fifty years after King Sitric the Cathedral was enlarged, at the suggestion of St. Laurence

O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, by Strongbow, Robert Fitzstephen, and Raymond le Gros. In the part of the Cathedral known as St. Laud's Church there is preserved a metal case said to contain the heart of the Archbishop, and in the Cathedral is the so-called Strongbow's tomb, supposed to be the grave of the invader.

The second Cathedral in Dublin, St. Patrick's, is of later date and Norman origin, Archbishop John Comyn, the successor of St. Laurence O'Toole, having founded the Church of St. Patrick on the site of the old Celtic church in 1190. It was constituted a Cathedral in 1213. In it are busts or statues of Swift, St. Patrick's great dean, of Archbishops Whateley and Marsh, John Philpot Curran, Samuel Lover, Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, his son the philosopher, and many other famous Irishmen. Here also is the grave of the Duke of Schomberg, killed at the crossing of the Boyne.

If the Danes founded one Cathedral and the Normans another, to the Tudors belongs the credit of initiating the University of Dublin, for Trinity College was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1591, in circumstances which are outlined elsewhere. Dublin Castle, founded by the Normans, was rebuilt and added to from time to time, but it was not till Queen Elizabeth's reign that it was used as the residence of the Viceroys.

With the exception of the Royal Hospital, built in 1680-84, most of the other public buildings in Dublin belong to the eighteenth century. The Bank of Ireland occupies the beautiful block of buildings, formerly the Irish Houses of Parliament, in College Green, opposite the principal entrance of Trinity College. It was commenced in 1729 on the site of Chichester House, and finished in 1794, six years before the Act of Union. The building of the present Custom House was begun in 1781 on land reclaimed from the River Liffey, and was completed ten years later. In 1786 were built the present Four Courts on the site of the old King's Inns, where James II. held his last Parliament in 1689. The King's Inns were removed to their present site in Henrietta Street in 1765. The City Hall on Cork Hill, formerly the Royal Exchange, is another eighteenth-century building. It

"superseded the Tholsel of the seventeenth century, said to have been the work of Inigo Jones. In the City Hall are to be found amongst others statues of George III., Daniel O'Connell, and Henry Grattan; and the ancient "Chain Book" (*Liber albus*) and the *Liber niger* are preserved there.

Nothing, perhaps, marks the change in Dublin from the time when it was the second city in the British Islands and one of the gayest capitals in Europe so much as the conversion of the old houses of its resident nobility into Government and other offices. Leinster House, the town house of the duke of that name, has fared best in this respect, being now occupied by the Royal Dublin Society. On either side of this building stand the National Museum and the National Library. Tyrone House, the Dublin residence of the Beresford family, now the National Education Office, still preserves in its doors and exquisite stucco work many features of its former beauty. Mornington House, the birthplace of the Duke of Wellington, is now the headquarters of the Irish Land Commission. Charlemont House, the residence of the earl of that name, is occupied by the Registrar-General. Moira House, Lord Hastings's beautiful residence, described by John Wesley in 1775, is now a mendicity institute, and Aldborough House, built by the second Earl of Aldborough in 1797, is a commissariat dépôt. Belvedere House and Killeen House, the residences of Lords Belvedere and Fingall respectively, are fortunate in being well preserved by the Jesuit community, their present owners, while Powerscourt House has been converted into a warehouse.

The close of the eighteenth century witnessed the decline of the industries of Dublin which once gave employment to her people. And with the passing of the Irish Parliament the social life of Dublin has suffered. Gone are the days of the masquerade balls, described by O'Keeffe, the actor, in the Round Room of the Rotunda, of the Sunday promenades in Stephen's Green and the New Gardens, of the ladies led by the beautiful Duchess of Rutland, whose magnificent equipages graced the then fashionable driving resort of the North Circular road. The city, once second to none in the number and variety of its concerts, routs,

and theatres, where "Peg" Woffington acted and where Handel thought it worth his while to give his first production of *The Messiah*, is no longer the brilliant rival of London and Paris. But, though many of the glories of Dublin are passed away, the place has improved in other respects. For whatever detractors may say, the dirty and unsanitary state of the city has vanished just as surely as the thieves and footpads of eighteenth-century Dublin. Her outlying districts have been converted into beautiful suburbs, accessible by rail and by electric trams. And much still remains. If the famous old theatre stock companies which Dublin was the last city to relinquish have been swept away by London competition, recent years have seen a revival in drama and in acting at the Abbey Theatre which needs no acknowledgment here. Dublin is still the seat of government, with its attendant Vice-regal functions. The University still turns out her sons, mindful of the long and illustrious roll of Swifts, Berkeleys, Hamiltons, Burkes, and Goldsmiths who have gone before them, and flushed with the desire to acquit themselves well in the eyes of their *alma mater*. And whatever the coming years may have in store for Dublin, they can no more alter the many pleasant qualities or the courtesy and the hospitality of her people than they can deprive them of the natural beauties of mountain and sea which surround their native city.

PART II

IRELAND IN THE PAST

CHAPTER I

IRELAND AND THE EMPIRE

We raised him from his low estate ;
We plucked his pagan soul from hell ;
And led him pure to heaven's gate,
Till he, for gold, like Judas, fell.

And when in one long, soulless night
He lay, unknown to wealth or fame,
We gave him Empire, riches, light,
And taught him how to spell his name.

But now, ungenerous and unjust, •
Forgetful of our old renown,
He bows us to the very dust ;
But wears our jewels in his Crown.

THESE verses were inspired by *The Times*. Once, in the fierce days long ago, it referred to the Celtic people as "the Irish wolf," and James McCarroll, one of the Young Ireland poets, was moved to this retort. It is an extreme Nationalist view of Ireland's part in making the Empire. Perhaps the poet's shade (his body lies in New York) will accept the present laurel in reparation of the ancient slight. In these calmer days no Englishman denies the extent, variety, and value of Ireland's contribution to the Empire. England's improving relations with Ireland, and still more the growth of the Imperial spirit, have done much to dissipate small national jealousies. To-day most Irishmen, whatever their native politics, are as proud to claim as Englishmen are to acknowledge Ireland's part in the building of the greatest Empire

that the world has yet known. One can hardly hope to do justice to that share in a short essay. A bare catalogue of the names of Irish makers of Empire would fill this allotted space and still be incomplete.

At the outset an answer must be attempted to a familiar question. Why have Irishmen succeeded as Empire-makers everywhere except in Ireland? They have made laws and Constitutions for a hundred countries, and spared the submissive and warred down the proud in all other parts of the world. Why is their own little problem still unsolved? Here are some of the usual answers to this question: Because the great Irish qualities are only effective under English discipline; because they need a larger stimulus and a wider field of action than they can find at home; because the spirit of adventure drives them forward and outward, and it is their nature to be—

Fighters in every clime—
Every cause but our own.

None of these answers is wholly satisfactory, though all have a measure of truth. A more definite solution seems to be possible. The Irish Empire-maker is a product of historical causes.

Except in the Western counties, which Cromwell offered to the Irishry as an alternative to hell, the pure Celt no longer survives. A succession of English wars and English and Scottish "plantations" has produced a varied breed. It is most mixed in that large majority of the population which may be called the Nationalist democracy. Every English invasion, from Henry the Second's to Cromwell's, brought new elements into the originally Celtic blood of the towns and villages. The pure Irish Celt is not, and never was, an Empire-maker. The highly adulterated Celt is equally a failure at the business. His triumphs—as in New York and Chicago—are municipal, and very dubious at that. The Empire-making strain in Ireland springs from the two stocks in the country which are least mixed—the Anglo-Irish breed, descended from the leaders of the Norman and Elizabethan conquests, and the Scots-Irish breed, descended from the founders of the Ulster Plantation. In these two stocks the Celtic

strain seems to blend in just the right proportion with the steadfast Saxon and Lowland qualities for the making of great men.

These then are the two creative breeds in Ireland, and the facts of Irish history help to answer the question why their genius for Empire has been lavished everywhere save in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry were always a small minority in their own country. The hostile majority gave them no scope for the exercise of their abilities at home. Generation after generation of them has sought and found fame and fortune abroad. The one Irish institution which they controlled has been described, with some truth, as England's one successful institution in Ireland. "Trinity College," says Dr. Mahaffy, in his "Epoch in Irish History," "has been from the beginning the college of the Anglo-Irish breed, and that is the reason why it has flourished and produced great results in the face of great obstacles, in spite of many rebellions and revolutions." Of the Scoto-Irish breed it may be said that it has, in fact, made Empire in Ireland. It has created the industrial marvel of Belfast. Outside Ireland its contribution to the Empire has been—with some great exceptions—solid rather than brilliant. The trade of Ulster has followed the flag, but as often as not the hand that carried the flag was Anglo-Irish.

The Anglo-Irish intellect is practical and constructive—these qualities derive from the English strain. The Celtic strain gives a dash of audacity and imagination. The result is a nature at once calm and fiery, sensible and adventurous; provident, yet exalted at times by a recklessness which takes tremendous risks for the mere love of the game. This is the true temperament of Empire-builders. The Anglo-Irish type seems to be specially favourable to the production of the soldier-administrator—the man who can build civilizations on a foundation of conquest. The type is fertile also in statesmen, lawyers, and traders. It does not run greatly towards idealism or pure imagination. It has produced only one great metaphysician, Bishop Berkeley, and not many poets. It is not conspicuous in music or painting, or indeed in any of the arts—except the

drama, where the constructive element has high importance. Most of the Irish poets and musicians have a definitely Celtic origin; Moore and Mangan are types of these. The Anglo-Irish breed has given famous journalists to the Empire. Queen's County claims Delane, and *The Times* owed Russell, the greatest of all war correspondents, to Dublin. But there is one curious gap in the Anglo-Irish record. Ireland is an island, and part of a great naval Empire, yet she has given few great sailors to the world. Her poverty in this respect is, perhaps, one of the reasons (though only one) why she is so proud of Lord Charles Beresford. No convincing explanation of this deficiency has been made. One assumes an essential similarity between great military and great naval qualities. Yet Ireland is as poor in famous admirals as she is rich in famous field-m Marshals.

This is the general character of Ireland's contribution to the Empire. It can be best illustrated by reference to the work of some of the most famous contributors. Any such list must begin with the name of Edmund Burke—perhaps the greatest statesman, philosopher, and orator who ever served an English King and Parliament. The Empire, as we know it now, was just beginning to take shape when Burke's gigantic intellect was in its prime. It might have taken another, and even more splendid, shape than it has since assumed if the country had listened to his warnings. The American Colonies might have been saved to it. They were lost, but the disaster taught its lesson. The development of our modern Empire has run on the lines which Burke's genius laid down; he, in greater measure perhaps than any other man, secured the application of the principles of freedom, equality, and progress to the government of all British possessions. Lord Morley had said that Burke's terrific and sustained indictment, during fourteen years, of the Indian enmities "laid the foundations, once for all, of a moral, just, philanthropic, and responsible public opinion in England with reference to India, and in doing so performed, perhaps, the most magnificent service that any statesman has ever had it in his power to render to humanity."

The first Earl of Mornington, an Irish peer, had two great sons. The elder, Richard Wellesley, helped to found the Empire which so many generations of Irishmen have since helped to maintain. With Pitt, he conceived and carried out the design of substituting a great possession in India for the lost Colonies in America. During his period as Governor-General he fought a series of wars and made a series of treaties that extinguished French influence in India and added 40,000,000 of population and 10,000,000 of revenue to the British Dominions. Afterwards he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he was an ardent advocate of Catholic emancipation. That particular service to the Empire, however, just failed to be linked with his name. It was accomplished a year after his resignation of the Viceroyalty.

The yet greater brother of this great man also made his name in India. The Duke of Wellington, like Dean Swift, said many harsh things about the country of his birth, but they have been forgotten in the blaze of glory which he shed upon it. Before he was thirty-five his brief course in India, culminating in the battle of Assaye, had established Wellington's fame as a soldier and statesman. What he did for the Empire in the Peninsula and at Waterloo need not be repeated here. It may be said, perhaps, that Burke's share in making the Empire was equalled by Wellington's share in saving it.

It was Wellington who first exhibited the splendid fighting qualities of the Irish private soldier in the service of the Empire. Any sketch of Ireland's contribution which followed the Homeric fashion of praising only chiefs and captains would do scant justice to the fighting island. For more than a century the slum-dwellers of Dublin, the hard-bitten men of Ulster, and the peasants of Munster and Connemara have fought in the van of England's battles. Their soldierly qualities are among the finest in the world. Scott described them as "moving to death with military glee." Mr. Kipling has immortalized the same Irish joy in conflict. It was as keen and irresistible in the last South African war as in Spain and Belgium. Irishmen of the lower class do not make leaders. Under British discipline, and

led by the gentlemen of their own country, they have made history on a hundred battlefields in both hemispheres.

Indian history from the Mutiny days onward is starred with the names of famous Irishmen; for two generations that great Empire has been administered with an Irish accent. John, the greatest of the three Lawrences, went to India at seventeen from Foyle College, Londonderry. He became Viceroy and Governor-General. In the Punjab he carried out "the most successful experiment in the art of civilizing turbulent millions which history presents." His work during the Mutiny gained him the title of "Saviour of India." Among the men whom John Lawrence sent to the siege of Delhi was John Nicholson, the son of a Dublin doctor. The deeds of that typical Irish soldier are among his country's proudest memories. No Irishman, perhaps, has made a more brilliant or dramatic contribution to the Empire. The sixth Lord Mayo was one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys. Another was Lord Dufferin; it was in the Viceroyalty of the great-grandson of the Champion of the Begums of Oude that Burma was added to our possessions. The victor of Kandahar is still with us. To-day the Irish tradition in India is maintained by many able soldiers and Civil servants. The Indian Civil Service is now the chief goal of the best brains of the Anglo-Irish stock. The problems of Indian administration have changed in character, but not, perhaps, in difficulty. If another great crisis should ever come, Irish genius and the strength of the Irish arm will be ready to meet it as of old.

Turning to other continents, we find the Empire much indebted to Irish statesmanship and enterprise. To-day the tide of Irish emigration is tending more towards Canada and less towards the United States. The Irish emigrant has some title to a welcome in Canada. Kildare, Clare, and Limerick all lay claim to the ancestry of the hero of Quebec. The line of Irish Governors and administrators, which includes Acheson, Carleton, and Dufferin, is continued to-day by the Royal holder of an Irish title. In whatever fighting had to be done in Canada Irishmen took their full share. Sir Garnet Wolseley, having shown the

first taste of his quality in India, put down the Riel rebellion on the Red River in 1870. In the period of great prosperity since then, Irish brains have contributed largely to Canada's great economic development.

Ireland paid her full tribute to the dubious beginnings of Australian society. She sent both good and bad, and among the good were many of the political exiles of the Fenian and pre-Fenian times. Here again Protestant immigrants from Ulster have formed one of the most valuable elements in a great agricultural community. Irishmen and the descendants of Irishmen exercise a large influence in Australian politics, and for many years the high places of the Roman Catholic Church in that continent have been filled from Maynooth. The list of Australian Viceroys and Governors includes many Irish names. Among the foremost stands that of Sir Richard Bourke, who was Governor of Sydney in the country's most critical and most formative period—from 1831 to 1837. His record is carved upon his statue: "He voluntarily divested himself of the prodigious influence arising from the assignment of penal labour. He was the first Governor who published satisfactory accounts of public receipts and expenditure. He established religious equality and sought to provide for all, without distinction of sect, a sound and adequate system of national education."

The newest chapter in Imperial history has just been written in South Africa. Is there any need to say how much of it was written by Irishmen? There Lord Roberts achieved his penultimate service to the Empire. The Red Hand of Ulster held Ladysmith. The defects of his Celtic qualities cannot obscure the nobility of the late Sir William Butler's character and the value of his work. In that campaign the Irish private soldier was worthy of his Irish leaders, and when Queen Victoria rendered thanks to "My Irish soldiers" she spoke for a grateful Empire.

So much for the domain of action. In the domain of intellect the Anglo-Irish character has won its own triumphs. Ireland has given England at least one Lord Chancellor and one Lord Chief Justice, namely, Hugh McCalmont Cairnes and Lord Russell of Kil-

lowen. The highest Court of Appeal in the Empire has been adorned by many great Judges from Ireland; by common consent Lord Macnaghten, who has just left us, was one of the greatest. The fame of Irish oratory has not been conspicuously upheld in recent years, but the country which boasts Burke, Sheridan, Grattan, Cúrran, Bushe, and Plunket can afford to rest upon its laurels. It was said above that the Anglo-Irish temperament is not idealistic or poetical, but it is capable of great prose. Swift and Goldsmith did as much as any other two men to clarify and dignify the language which links the Empire. In more recent times Lecky and Bury have made notable contributions to our historical literature. The Golden Age of the British drama belongs to England, but the Silver Age is Ireland's. From Congreve, Irish by education if not by birth, and Farquhar, through Goldsmith and Sheridan, nearly all the important dramatists of the eighteenth century were Irishmen.

This record has dealt with the past, but Ireland's contribution to the Empire is not finished. At the present time the country is full of intellectual life and ambition. The land question, all but settled, no longer swamps the minds and hearts of men in one primal passion. The nation is recovering something of its splendid youth. In literature and the arts there is a forward movement which already has produced conspicuous results. It is probable that much of Ireland's future contribution to the Empire will take shape as a spiritual and intellectual stimulus. Much of it—perhaps the greater and more important part—will be a contribution of economic ideas. It seems that Great Britain is going to settle her own land question on the lines of the Irish settlement. She will then be confronted with problems already familiar to Ireland, and it may be that in the solution of these problems Ireland will always be at least one stage ahead. The co-operative ideas of Sir Horace Plunkett, brilliantly expounded and advocated by his colleague Mr. George Russell, supply a policy to which all that is best in the country's agricultural and industrial life is turning with eager enthusiasm. The Irish microcosm is ceasing to be an exact reproduction of the English macrocosm. "We see our

way," Mr. Russell has just written, "to create co-operative communities in Ireland fulfilling in many respects the old Greek ideal of a true social organism, and to fit them into the larger national life, which the ancient Greeks were unable to do with their city States." Ireland, with her old tribal instincts and her new economic needs, seems to be a chosen field for this high adventure. The greatest of all Ireland's contributions to the Empire may yet be a triumphant object lesson in the building of a rural civilization.

Whatever the future may bring, Ireland has no cause to be ashamed of her record of service to the Empire. The story invokes irresistibly two ancient "tags" (one of them recently refreshed by Mr. Asquith): *Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem* and *Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?*

Two pictures are in the writer's mind as he lays down the pen. One is of Thomas Andrews, the young Irish shipbuilder, calculating in decimals as the *Titanic* sank to her grave. The other is of an old Irish soldier raising his failing voice in appeal to the careless manhood of England.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF IRISH HISTORY

WHEN Agricola was in Scotland he contemplated the conquest of Ireland, and to that end entertained an Irish king who had been expelled by his own tribesmen. Then he was recalled, and so Ireland never knew Roman law and the Roman peace. Nearly eleven centuries later King Dermot MacMurrough sought the help of the Normans, and they came to stay. In the meantime the Danes and Norwegians had failed to conquer the island, but had founded the coast towns, whose bishops long sought consecration from Canterbury rather than from the native Church. Before Strongbow came, the Roman ecclesiastical polity had been introduced, and the Church was on the whole in favour of the invaders. The country had not got beyond the tribal stage, and Brian Boru, by making himself supreme, impaired such order as the Celtic constitution provided, but without establishing a durable monarchy upon its ruins. Although Celtic usages were part of the common Aryan stock, they were incomprehensible to the feudalized English. The great point was that under native law land belonged to the tribe, and was divisible upon the death of the chief. The chieftainship was not hereditary, though confined to a particular family, and no forfeiture of the common property could be incurred by the act of one.

The Normans, acting at first as independent adventurers, very nearly conquered Ireland, and Henry II., fortified by two papal bulls, made himself its overlord, but without assuming the name of King. The richer parts of the country were occupied, but the natives and their customs were preserved in the

mountainous districts. The conflict between, feudal law and tribal custom underlies all the future history. King John, who visited Ireland twice, divided the southern and eastern districts into counties, but the colony was gradually depleted by quarrels among the settlers as well as by their contests with the natives. Edward I. weakened his dominion in Ireland by drawing men from it to the Scotch wars, and there was a rapid decline under his feeble successor. The invasion of the Bruces, who had help from the O'Neills and other clans, broke up the feudal organization, but the invaders did not succeed in holding the country. Under Edward III., who was occupied in foreign wars, the colony lost ground continually, and his son, Lionel Duke of Clarence, could see no better course than to pass the statute of Kilkenny in 1368, whereby a complete separation, both in Church and State, was made between the native Irish and the Anglo-Normans. Richard II. lost the English crown while vainly endeavouring to assert his authority in Ireland. Under Henry IV., who had a bad title and an unsafe seat, the English settlements were only preserved by paying blackmail to the Irish chiefs. The great John Talbot was viceroy under Henry V., but his abilities were neutralized by want of money, while the king drew away the strength of the settlements to the siege of Rouen. During the Wars of the Roses it was not likely that the English power would increase. Richard of York was got out of the way by giving him the government of Ireland, and he created a Yorkist party there. The Crown was acknowledged, but the English Parliament and Law Courts repudiated. Richard even obtained the power of coining money from his own Parliament. From 1478 to 1526 the Earls of Kildare, who headed the Irish Yorkists, held the actual viceregal authority with but brief intervals. They were supreme in the Pale—that is, from Dublin to Bray and for some thirty miles inland. The House of Ormonde held its own in the south-east. The Earls of Desmond and other Norman families shared the south with the native clans, whose customs they partially adopted; and in Connaught the De Burghs became frankly Irish under the name of MacWilliam.

After the battle of Bosworth, in 1485, the Crown begins slowly to regain its own. Lambert Simnel was crowned at Dublin, but his Irish supporters were overthrown at Stoke. The king pardoned the survivors, invited them to dinner, and had the Pretender to wait on them. A few years later the same party in Ireland welcomed Perkin Warbeck, but did not go the length of crowning him. The most important event of Henry VII.'s reign was the Parliament held by Sir Edward Poynings in 1494, wherein were enacted the two laws bearing his name. By the first it was provided that no Parliament should meet in Ireland until the Lord Lieutenant and Council certified the reasons for holding it and the measures that were to be passed. If the King in Council approved, the Parliament might then be summoned under the Great Seal of England, but not otherwise. It might accept or reject, but not alter, the transmitted Bills. By the second statute all existing English Acts of Parliament were made of force in Ireland. The Irish Parliament, which met but seldom until the eighteenth century, was thus made subordinate to the English Government, but care was taken not to sanction or promote Bills which were unlikely to pass in Ireland. During the Middle Ages Parliaments were composed of the colonists, and had little jurisdiction over the native clans; but in 1585 eighteen members of the House of Commons out of a total of 126 bore Irish names.

During the early years of Henry VIII. there was little change, but he gradually developed a policy which might have succeeded but for the religious difficulty. He procured a severe law against absentee proprietors, made Conn O'Neill Earl of Tyrone, Murrough O'Brien Earl of Thomond, and the Upper MacWilliam Burke, who was practically an Irish chief, Earl of Clanricarde. Peerages of lesser degree were given both to Celts and Anglo-Irish, but the recipients of earldoms were required to come to court. In the meantime anarchy prevailed in Ireland. Even the Pale had to pay blackmail to Irish chiefs, no judges went circuit, and oppressors of the poor were unchecked. The Church did nothing to reform the State, and the endowed clergy abandoned preaching to the mendicant friars, who gained the affection of

the people and prevented Protestantism from taking root. Henry was denounced as a heretic and an adulterer, and his disposal of the Abbey-lands began the long series of confiscations which form the background of Irish history during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some monasteries tried to supply the want of a University, but they were swept away in spite of many remonstrances. Some houses, however, were no doubt very corrupt. Irish chiefs as well as Anglo-Norman nobles accepted grants of monastic property, and Mary made no attempt to interfere; but the Anglican Reformation was repudiated by the natives generally and in time a rival hierarchy was formed which depended wholly on Rome. The friars were reinforced by the Jesuits, who first appeared in 1641.

Henry assumed the full sovereignty of Ireland, and the word Rex took the place of Dominus on his coinage, but the masses were taught that supreme authority remained as of right in the Pope. Paul IV. found that Mary, though a faithful daughter of the Church, had no intention of surrendering her royalty, and he erected Ireland into a kingdom; but the notion of papal suzerainty long remained.

The first serious attempt at the new colonization was made by Mary. Leix and Offaly were turned into King's and Queen's Counties, a part being given to English settlers and a part to the natives on condition of their holding by English tenure. The scheme was only very partially successful, but some fortified posts, of which Maryborough was the most successful, sheltered the royal authority for the next two generations.

After the suppression of the Geraldine rebellion in 1535, the Crown ceased to depend on the House of Kildare, and Skeffington was the first of the modern viceroys, noble or gentle, whose power was derived only from the sovereign of England and not from Irish estates or alliances. But the southern Geraldines, under the Earls of Desmond, continued to give trouble almost to the end of the Tudor period. They were very proud of their Norman blood, but maintained their power with the help of Irish clans, while their rivals the Butlers always looked to England. Under

Henry VIII. a Desmond sought help both from France and Spain, and connexion with the latter power was long maintained. The House of Ormonde steadily repudiated all foreign interference, the 10th Earl, known in history as Black Thomas, playing a leading part all through Elizabeth's reign. For her first nine years the heaviest task of government was the suppression of Shane O'Neill, who claimed supremacy in Ulster. After that, various attempts were made at colonization in the northern province, but Sir Thomas Smith and Walter Earl of Essex failed completely. Sir Henry Sidney saw that the wilder parts of Ireland could only be bridled by fixed garrisons, and in the end, but after his time, this was done. The rebellion under Gerald, 16th Earl of Desmond, was ended by his death in 1582. Attainder followed, and Elizabeth tried to establish a colony on his vast forfeited estates. This failed, as the northern attempts had done, owing to the land having been granted in large tracts to gentlemen, most of whom were, or soon became, absentees. Some did settle in Munster, but their English tenants were too few and too scattered to defend themselves. The forfeited district was almost a desert when Desmond was killed, but within two or three years it was again populated by great numbers of Irish, and it was easier for the settlers to employ them as labourers than to import men from England. Irish tenants were also accepted contrary to the Queen's intention. Raleigh did more than any of the undertakers, but most of his work was swept away in 1598, when the Irish of the north joined those of Munster. The poet Spenser was one of those who were ruined by this war. When Elizabeth in her last years triumphed over all her foes the number of settlers was again considerable, but the failure of her plan in its main features was seen finally in 1641.

The latter part of Elizabeth's reign was troubled by the long struggle with the O'Neills under Tyrone, whose ability excited the admiration of Henry IV. of France. The great army entrusted to Robert Earl of Essex effected little, and the favourite's humiliating treaty with the rebel chief led to his disgrace and death. Sidney's plan of fortresses was carried out

by Mountjoy, and Tyrone submitted at the moment that the Queen died. She left the reconquest of Ireland complete. That it had taken so long was mainly owing to the poverty of the Crown, and it was not until after the defeat of the Armada that her hands were free. The few Spaniards who landed in support of the Irish were easily overcome by Mountjoy and Carew. The idea of a free Church in a free State was not one which either Elizabeth or her Ministers could grasp. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were passed in Ireland, but were on the whole applied gently during her reign.

No one will now defend the torture and death of Archbishop O'Hurley, but the government case was that the papal clergy, particularly the Jesuits, were plotters against the State, and were not really persecuted for religion's sake. In 1570, the year in which Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth, Fitzgibbon, who preceded O'Hurley at Cashel, told Philip II. on behalf of the Irish Catholics that they were ready to acknowledge any king he might nominate, and advised him to seize all Irish forts and harbours, since the English Crown seemed unable to protect them. But in spite of the forces arrayed against her Elizabeth did not despair of freeing Ireland from papal influence. She had Irish types cast to attract a translator of the Bible, and above all things she founded Trinity College, Dublin. It was at once denounced by the Jesuits as the fanatics' college, and the sons of Irish gentlemen were driven by clerical influences to seek education abroad. But in modern times Elizabeth's foundation has been conspicuous for its tolerance.

When Tyrone heard of the great Queen's death he shed tears, not of grief, as we may well believe, but of vexation at not having held out a little longer. He was received at court with almost excessive favour, but on his way there and back the sheriffs were ordered to protect him, while he was pelted with stones and mud by the common people. In the Pale also he found himself very unpopular. In the meantime there had been a Roman Catholic insurrection in the Munster towns. Mass was publicly celebrated, and in a sermon at Waterford the Jesuit White called Elizabeth Jezebel. Mountjoy garrisoned both Waterford and Cork, but

there were disturbances at the latter place for three weeks. James had an opportunity given him of adopting the principle of toleration, but not even Bacon had then got as far as that. Throughout the reign strong measures on paper alternated with weakness in action, and Protestantism made no real progress. In Ulster, James, with Mountjoy's consent, was inclined to leave all in Tyrone's hands, as the first Tudors had left the Pale in Kildare's, but the time for such a hegemony had passed. Rory O'Donnell was created Earl of Tyrconnel in the hope of keeping Donegal quiet in the old way, but he was recklessly extravagant and soon in difficulties. Tyrone, too, was poor, and all the north of Ireland was exhausted by the long war. The two earls could not readily accept the fact that they were subject to law like the rest of the world. They were discontented, and officials were not always careful enough to respect their dignity or make allowance for their past. Their claims were quite incompatible with the existence of a modern state. Life became intolerable to chiefs who had lost their old power without learning to accommodate themselves to changed conditions. At last, in 1607, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with Maguire and nearly a hundred others, escaped to the Continent. The Flight of the Earls, as it is called, followed by the rebellion of O'Dogherty, left a wide field open for confiscation and colonization.

The settlement of Ulster, which is dealt with later by another hand,¹ is the most important event of James I.'s reign. Other partial settlements were made in Leitrim and Wexford. In the latter case many obsolete claims were revived to make the King's title, and there was not the same excuse as in Ulster. When the hour of trial came the smaller settlements were as little able to defend themselves as the Munster grantees had been under Elizabeth.

The only available means of enforcing religious conformity was the Act of 1560, which imposed a fine of one shilling for non-attendance at church. This was enough to annoy, but quite too little to coerce substantial citizens. A proclamation, banishing priests, seminaries, and Jesuits, had no practical effect, for, said Chichester, "every town, hamlet, or house is to them

¹ See Chapter IV., p. 95, *infra*.

a sanctuary." The government fell back on sheer prerogative, and issued mandates under the Great Seal requiring important individuals to attend divine service. Fines of £100 and £50 were imposed for non-compliance, but Sir Patrick Barnewall disputed the legality of the mandates, and the scheme was abandoned. Throughout his reign it was James's practice to order a strict enforcement of the uniformity law, and then to blame his officers when they created a disturbance by futile endeavours to carry out his orders.

A Parliament was held in 1613, after an interval of twenty-seven years. There was no law in Ireland by which members could be made to take the oath of supremacy, and after the defeat of the mandates its illegal imposition was given up. James created thirty-nine new boroughs, and by official pressure everywhere a majority, though as it turned out not always a working majority, was secured. After a violent struggle Sir John Davies was chosen Speaker. Foreseeing what would happen, the Roman Catholics of the Pale had asked the King to hold the Irish Parliament in England. As it was, they were able to avoid penal legislation by close attendance. The attainder of Tyrone passed easily, being supported even by Sir John Everard, who had contested the Speakership with Davies. As a lawyer, he had little sympathy with the pretensions of Irish chiefs. A Bill to abolish tenures was dropped, but the work had already been done by legal decisions. The heads of clans were ready enough to take feudal titles, and so secure estates of inheritance in tribal property. This put the cultivators at their mercy, but they made themselves liable to legal forfeiture.

Under James I. Ireland enjoyed twenty-two years of peace, for the rising of O'Dogherty was merely local. Much progress was made, and the judges were able to go circuit and hold regular assizes. The system of highways then established lasted with some modifications to the end of the nineteenth century. The King had many enlightened ideas, but he was inconsistent, and in any case it was impossible that his reign could make a contented people. Many had lost their property, and the majority had been denied liberty of conscience so far as law or prerogative could deny it. So weak

was the government that in 1622 the pay of the army was two and a half years in arrear and the soldier half starved. Two years later not more than seven hundred and fifty men could be counted on in case of an insurrection favoured by Spain.

During the early years of Charles I. there was little change. Notwithstanding reiterated promises, no Parliament was held until 1634, an interval of nineteen years. By the King's order Lord-Deputy Falkland convened an assembly of notables in 1626, and offered certain royal "graces" in exchange for money to pay the army; for the reign of the peacemaker was over, and Charles had troubles both with France and Spain. The Irish nobility granted £30,000 a year for four years, and the King refrained from extorting the one shilling fine for non-attendance at church. He also promised to allow a sixty years' title against the Crown. Toleration in consideration of a subsidy was denounced by Ussher and eleven other bishops, who declared Popery to be "superstitious and heretical," and said it was a bargain "to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people." The English Parliament also called loudly for a strict execution of the recusancy laws, which in Ireland had ceased to be effective. A proclamation was issued against the regular clergy, but it was almost a dead letter, and seventeen new religious houses were set up during the next four months. The Lords Justices Cork and Loftus, who followed Falkland, tried to act vigorously, but could do little. They pulled down a Franciscan chapel in Dublin, but the friars were rescued by three thousand people. They demolished the famous place of pilgrimage called St. Patrick's Purgatory on Lough Derg, Donegal, but the pilgrims came again after a time, and quite lately a huge hostel has been built for their reception with money collected all over the world.

Wentworth's political tergiversation belongs to general history. He reached Dublin in July 1633, having been delayed some time by the fear of being caught in the Channel by Algerine pirates, who captured 500 pounds' worth of his linen in another ship. Only three years before they had sacked Baltimore and carried off 107 persons. One of

Wentworth's first cares was to make the coast safe. With the force at his disposal this was not easy, but in 1537 he was able to announce that there was not "so much as the rumour of Turk, St. Sebastian man, or Dunkirkcr—the merchant inward and outward secured in his trade." The government of Richelieu actually allowed these rovers to lead English prisoners in chains across France and to ship them at Marseilles, and Wentworth calls the French "most Christian Turks."

• Wentworth did not become Earl of Strafford until 1640, but that is his name in history, and may be used here. His policy in Ireland was founded on prerogative, or the King's absolute supremacy in Church and State. Good government was to be provided for the people, but of such character and in such measure as the sovereign pleased. Stated shortly, this was the "thorough" that he and Laud worked together for. Unable to depend either on the native aristocracy, or on the official class, he surrounded himself with personal adherents from Yorkshire. He confided in no one but Wandesford and Radcliffe, kept Privy Councillors in the dark, and filled every possible place with Englishmen. In 1634 he opened Parliament in great state, having secured a small Protestant majority by practically dictating to the boroughs. As in 1613, the Roman Catholics, who had most to gain, attended much better than their opponents, and Strafford was thus able to hold the balance. The most important of the promises were not allowed to become law, especially that which would have established a sixty years' title, but large subsidies were voted, since the Lord-Deputy could command a majority when the King's interests were concerned. He kept Convocation in the same subjection as Parliament, ruling it through Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, who was from Yorkshire, and who procured the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles, superseding those of Primate Ussher, who was born in Ireland and had Calvinistic leanings. Strafford showed his contempt for the common lawyers by bringing all important business before the Council and Star Chamber. All independence in officials or private men was ruthlessly repressed. But order was maintained and justice

obtainable by those who did not interfere in politics, and the country flourished for a time. He did something towards restoring alienated Church lands to their proper uses and towards reforming internal abuses, but made no attempt to reach the masses through their own language. The Irish lecture in Trinity College was suppressed, and the translators of the Bible into Irish discouraged and thwarted. The Established Church was made to depend on the State, while the Irish branch of the Church of Rome was allowed to develop on its own lines and to gain a supremacy which has never really been shaken. Strafford's treatment of the Scotch Presbyterians in Ulster had much to say to his tragic end. He illegally imposed the Black Oath, by which thousands were forced to swear that they would not even protest against any royal demand. Great numbers fled to Scotland, and he wished to make a "perpetual distrust and hatred" between that country and England. All this went far towards the ruin of Charles I.

Like his predecessors, Strafford favoured settlements in Ireland, but he went further. All Connaught was claimed for the King as Earl of Ulster, and every advantage taken of legal quibbles to invalidate titles. Sheriffs and jurors were punished if the desired verdicts were not found. The same course was taken with the Londoners in Ulster, who had not fulfilled their undertaking to the letter. Their estates were sequestered and their charter declared forfeited. The rebellion broke out before Strafford's plans could be fully carried out, but some progress was made in colonization. If juries of recusants failed him he could fall back on the well-drilled majority of the Commons.

Strafford paid great attention to the army and made it thoroughly efficient, but there were only 2,000 foot and 600 horse. In 1640 the King and he decided on raising an additional force of 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, which might be used against Great Britain. Irish soldiers had been billeted in England in 1627, leaving a very bad impression, and Strafford's new army was rightly considered dangerous. Most of the officers were Protestants, but the bulk of the men were Roman Catholic natives. At Strafford's death they were dis-

banded, only half paid, and added enormously to the strength of the insurgents in 1641.

To adopt Petty's estimate in the absence of statistics, there were nearly a million and a half of people in Ireland in 1641, two-elevenths of whom were British. The minority was Protestant, divided in uncertain proportion between "legal Protestants" and Scotch Presbyterians. Of the Roman Catholic majority, much the greater number were of old Irish or Celtic origin, but the old English or new Irish, for they are named both ways, who represented the Anglo-Norman immigration before Henry VII., were important from their property and their supremacy in the Pale. The native Irish cared extremely little for the Crown or for the House of Stuart, but the descendants of the conquerors, though adhering to Rome, cared a great deal.

In October 1641, when Strafford had lost his head and Charles was beginning his final struggle with Parliament, it was natural that the sons and grandsons of those who suffered by the Ulster settlement should wish to recover their province. They had managed to live on fair terms with the colonists among whom they were intermingled, but the differences of race and religion prevented any real fusion. The Irish rose and massacred great numbers of Protestants who dwelt in fancied security, though Carew had clearly foretold such an event thirty years before. The number of lives taken must be counted in thousands, but any accurate computation is impossible. The Ulster insurgents had allies elsewhere, particularly Roger O'More, whose clan had been partly expropriated in the Marian settlement, and who had connections among the Anglo-Irish aristocracy; but the gentry of the Pale were very unwilling to join. The Lords Justices, Borlase, a superannuated soldier, and Parsons, an official who had made an estate out of forfeited land, were quite unequal to the emergency. The young Earl of Ormonde was put in command of the troops, and wished to discriminate between the men of the Pale, who might be conciliated, and the Ulster Irish, who could not; but in this the Lords Justices would not support him. Slowly but surely all Roman Catholic Ireland was drawn into the net.

A loyal individual like Clanricarde, could do little or nothing. The Boyle family, with the remnants of the Elizabethan settlement, made some stand in Munster, and Cromwell said there could have been no rebellion if there had been an Earl of Cork in every county. The Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny claimed to represent all Ireland, but was really controlled by the Anglo-Irish, Ulster being too distant to co-operate, but not to threaten. Ecclesiastical patronage was in the hands of the papal nuncio Rinuccini, whose influence was not for peace. The war lasted with imperfect peaces at intervals for eleven years.⁴ Not even the briefest recapitulation of its incidents can be attempted here, but it was a cruel business and little credit for clemency can be claimed by any party. There was, says one prominent actor, "but little mercy shown in those times."

Ormonde was above all things a royalist, and to him Rinuccini was merely "the Italian Bishop." When the King's cause was hopeless for the time he surrendered Dublin to the Parliament rather than to the native Irish. Protestant England might, and did, return to its allegiance, but the throne could never be restored on an Irish-Catholic basis. Of two evils he chose what he thought the lesser. The clerical party were ready to hand over the sovereignty of Ireland to the Duke of Lorraine. Cromwell and the regicide party ruthlessly stamped out the embers of rebellion and left the field clear for more colonization. At the outbreak it had been at once assumed that the Desmond and Tyrone precedents would be followed, and that much land would be forfeited. Part of it was ear-marked for Adventurers who advanced money, and part as deferred pay to the soldiers. When the war was over, a great number of Irish landowners were transported beyond the Shannon. The qualifications necessary to prove "innocence" of the rebellion were so stringent that few could satisfy them, and so the Adventurers and soldiers became possessed of most of the land. Charles I. was a party to the Act on which the Cromwellian settlement was founded, and it was therefore impossible for his successor to undo the work altogether. Moreover, it was to the Protestants, who

profited by the forfeitures and who came to be called the New Interest, that he owed his restoration. The Acts of Settlement and Explanation were based upon the theory of the King being entitled to all. An effort was made to provide for those who had lost their lands less by rebellion than by siding with King against Parliament. Those who had court interest got off pretty well; the friendless were forgotten; and when the Court of Claims ceased to sit a great many applicants had not been heard at all. There was not land enough to go round, and Ormonde said there could not be general satisfaction without making new Irelands. Borrowing an expression from Temple, Lord Essex declared in 1674 that the lands of Ireland had been a mere scramble. The landless men known as Tories gave trouble during the whole reign, and re-appeared after the Revolution as Rapparees. The Whiteboys and the Ribbonmen of later days were their successors in title.

Charles II. would have granted toleration if he had dared, but he would risk nothing for it, and the judicial murder of Archbishop Oliver Plunket is a special blot on his reign. Ormonde, who was much the most important of his viceroys, was fairly tolerant in practice, but held to the royal supremacy in Church and State. He was therefore disliked by extremists on both sides, but secured peace and a fair measure of prosperity. He opposed to the utmost the exclusion of Irish cattle from England, but was powerless against the English Parliament, who voted the trade a common and public nuisance. This was the work of the English landed interest, the breeding counties, especially in the west, being greatly over-represented. The feeding counties were outvoted. A trade in salt beef then sprung up, and the cattle were partly replaced by sheep. The woollen manufacture, encouraged by Ormonde, was afterwards hampered by restrictions imposed in England, and the wool was then sent abroad to assist foreigners in competing with English clothiers.

James II. repeated his father's mistake in supposing that he could coerce England by an army recruited in Roman Catholic Ireland. Richard Talbot, whom he created Earl and Duke of Tyrconnel, was sent over

first as general and then as viceroy to weed Protestants out of the Irish army and to raise additional forces who could be trusted. Tyrconnel was ready to oppress Protestants, but he never forgot his Norman blood and favoured the Anglo-Irish against the Ceits, and the South against the North. Protestant judges were got rid of, corporations remodelled, and sheriffs appointed so as to secure absolute power to the King's co-religionists. The Protestants fled out of Ireland in crowds, carrying much property with them in spite of proclamations, but leaving the land to native claimants.

When James himself appeared he found no opposition in the greater part of Ireland. The Ulster Protestants, partly from want of any able leader, were driven out of the open country, but Londonderry and Enniskillen stood firm, with the result that all the world knows. The names of Walker and Murray, who defended the city of refuge, will be honoured, and that of Lundy, who would have betrayed it, will be execrated as long as English is spoken in Ulster. James held a Parliament while his troops were wasting away, but he was quite unable to guide it. The dispossessed proprietors forced him to repeal the Act of Settlement and to pass the great Act of Attainder. These measures would have prevented him from ever being restored in England, and yet that was all that he cared for. Ireland was to him a far worse place of exile than France. While he longed for a descent on Great Britain, Tyrconnel and the French ambassador Avaux worked hard to prevent one. If Ireland could not be made to stand alone they were ready to hand over the island to France. But Louis XIV. had no wish to assume such a burden. He sent over many officers, many arms, some money, and about 7,000 men, but his real object was only to keep the struggle alive so as to weaken William's power in European politics. All the sovereigns dreaded his overweening ambition. He had oppressed even the papacy, and neither Innocent XI. nor his successor would contribute to his aggrandisement by helping James II. From a military point of view, the battle of the Boyne was little more than a skirmish, but its international

importance was enormous, and much more than counterbalanced Fleurus and Beachy Head. James fled precipitately, leaving the Irish to themselves. The cause was hopeless, but the defence of Limerick redeemed the reputation of the native races, and the name of Sarsfield is as well remembered as that of Walker. The Irish brigades in the service of France originated at this time, and a King of England cursed the laws which deprived him of such soldiers. As in all previous attempts to shake the connection with England, more land was forfeited, and the Irish Parliament, by refusing to confirm the civil treaty of Limerick, showed itself less liberal than the soldiers who took the city.

Burton and Lang close their review of Scottish history with the last Jacobite rebellion, forty years after the legislative union. In 1715 and 1745 Ireland was quiet, and Swift said an insurrection of the Papists was as little to be apprehended as one of the women against the men. The Penal Laws are explained, though not excused, by the fears of the victorious Protestants, who thought 1641 and 1689 might come again. From the Revolution to the Union, the political history of Ireland is that of the dominant Protestant community. During the earlier part of the eighteenth century patriotism was the feeling of the colony. The destruction of the Irish woollen trade and other commercial restrictions hindered legitimate industrial development, and the land was burdened by profit-rents, paid not to the owners, but to middlemen. The great proprietors were largely absentees, and the best parts of the country were under sheep, which gave little employment. The wool went to feed foreign looms, and the bulk of the population lived very poorly on potatoes in thatched cabins. Petty had asked why men should work when the labour of one could feed forty, and when a house could be built in three days. On the west coast smugglers haunted the harbours whence Strafford had once expelled the pirates, and the Wild Geese flew regularly to recruit the armies of France. In the meantime, all attempts to regulate the Roman Catholic priesthood failed, though the laws were severe. The Act which made the land of Roman

Catholics descend in gavelkind was evaded, but the radical injustice of this and other penal laws prevented Great Britain and Ireland from coalescing. Protestant dissenters, descendants of the men who had held Londonderry, went in great numbers to America, where they became the most irreconcilable of those who sought separation from England.

The history even of Ireland in the eighteenth century is pretty well known. Lecky and Froude differ much, but they may be read to check or to confirm each other. So great was the estrangement between the two kingdoms that the French again began to think of descents on Ireland. In 1759 Thurot took Carrickfergus, and might have taken Belfast for all the opposition the Irish government could give: he was killed at sea and his ships taken. A few years later the American Revolution drained the country of troops and at the same time stimulated the anti-English feeling. The undefended state of Ireland was partly the cause of and partly the excuse for the Volunteers of 1781, and so of the constitution of 1782. Poyning's law was given up, and thus the Irish Parliament became independent and at the same time dangerous. In 1784 Pitt made proposals for a free trade with Ireland on condition that the surplus of the hereditary revenue when it rose above a certain high point should be devoted to the Imperial Navy; but Grattan rejected this as a tribute in disguise, and Pitt's liberal offers were twice rejected amid parliamentary scenes of great violence. Pitt had to argue in one Parliament that England was making no undue sacrifice, while Chief Secretary Orde maintained in the other that she was making the greatest concessions. A mischievous pamphleteer printed the words of the two statesmen in parallel columns, and so added fuel to the flames. Pitt's attempt at a comprehensive treatment of commercial differences accordingly failed. Much, however, had already been done toward removing trade restraints, but even so the woollen manufacture proved unable to compete with England. Having command of the patronage government could always keep a working majority, and the Executive was not responsible to the Irish Parliament. The borough-mongers, when judiciously handled, could

always defeat the Opposition, and in 1797 Grattan and his immediate friends seceded. He did not return to Parliament until that last session when the Union was carried. In the meantime there had been three French descents upon Ireland. A fourth expedition prepared in Holland was frustrated by Duncan's victory at Camperdown.

Such a convulsion as the French Revolution could not fail to be felt in Ireland. Theobald Wolfe Tone founded the United Irishmen in 1791, and became the soul of the revolutionary movement. After Lord Fitzwilliam's failure in 1795 Tone went to America and thence to France, where he gained the confidence of Clarke and Hoche, though not apparently of Napoleon. His object was the same as Tyrconnell's in 1690—to separate Ireland from England and make her independent under French patronage. Hoche's great expedition was scattered by storms, and after the general's death Tone's influence decreased. He fought bravely on a French ship and in a French uniform, was taken, and died by his own hand while under sentence of death by a court-martial. The Irish branch of the Revolution culminated in the rebellion of 1798, which was ruthlessly repressed. A section of the Ulster Presbyterians was tempted to take part in the insurrection, but drew back when they saw that other Protestants were massacred at Scullabogue barn and Wexford bridge. After the rebellion the Union followed naturally.

No one denies that peerages and other bribes were given to secure a majority for the Union, but they destroyed a hopelessly rotten system. Castlereagh said boldly that it was necessary to buy up the fee-simple of corruption. Cromwell held no Parliament in Ireland, but he brought Irish members to Westminster. Petty saw that there ought only to be one legislature, and that the more the two countries were interfused the better. In 1703 the Irish House of Commons petitioned Queen Anne for a Union; but it was refused lest Ireland should become rich and commercially formidable. Even so had the Angevin kings dreaded the rivalry of the Anglo-Norman colony. The country had to be governed somehow, and this could only be done by maintaining a majority

in the smaller kingdom. Both English parties had to play the same game, but the Irish Executive was responsible to the English Minister and not to the Irish Parliament. Pensions which could not be decently given in England were charged to the Irish establishment. Such eminent public servants as Catherine Sedley were provided for in this way, and Swift's onslaught upon Woods' halfpence was supported by the knowledge that the profits would go to the Duchess of Kendal. Englishmen of no merit but of some interest were appointed bishops, while much better men born in Ireland were passed over. By making the heads of the Establishment the dispensers of patronage the Church was corrupted as well as the State. Jobbery was not killed by the Union, but it was much decreased. Pitt would have granted Catholic emancipation if he could, but George III. stood in the way. Votes were given to Roman Catholics in 1793, but they could only be cast for Protestant candidates. There was a long and bitter agitation, and the Waterford election in 1826 convinced Wellington that emancipation would have to be granted. It came in 1829, and Daniel O'Connell was at once elected for Clare. The great agitator devoted to Repeal of the Union the machinery created to obtain religious equality; but he was essentially a lawyer, and his methods were too slow for the rising generation. The Young Ireland party contained many clever men and one considerable poet, but the failure of the potatoes in 1846 overshadowed all political action.

The "precarious exotic," as Bishop Doyle called it, was introduced by Raleigh, and soon became important. The country was then thinly inhabited, there was plenty of virgin soil, and food could be thus obtained with little labour. It was long the practice to dig the potatoes as required, and not to store them. During the weary years following the rebellion of 1641 the poor came more and more to depend upon a root which cost little to grow and could always be found. In 1690 Story the historian dug potatoes for his dinner, and says many better men did the same. In 1739 a great frost destroyed the undug crop, causing a widespread famine. As the country

filled up, potato-culture increased, and there was always scarcity in summer, since the roots only keep for nine or ten months, and fertility decreases with constant cropping. The subdivision of land was much aggravated by the creation of faggot-votes following on the extension of the franchise to the Roman Catholics in 1793. War prices and protection did the rest. The population increased by three millions between the Union and the famine. Large fortunes were made by corn, but the tillers of the corn-land starved. The blight appeared in 1845, the worst time of famine was in 1847. There was a vast emigration after that, and the bitterest feelings were of course excited. The people have not since been wholly dependent on potatoes, but numbers died of starvation, and many more from typhus caused by want and overcrowding. Among a population that had suffered so much the revolutionary movement of 1848 was sure to find support, but Smith O'Brien's rising was trifling. Further unrest was caused by the American War, in which so many Irishmen engaged; but the actual outbreak in 1867 was even weaker than that of 1848. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, as the Fenians called themselves, were Separatists, as the United Irishmen had been, but America, with its millions of Irish immigrants, was a much better base than revolutionary France.

Since the famine the Land Question has really occupied the attention of Ireland. In 1860 there was an Act based on the principle that all tenancies rest on contract. By 1870 it was discovered that this was what Swift called a "maxim controlled in Ireland," for tribal ideas were not then, and are not now, extinct. The economic strength of the tenants lay in the fact that improvements, or rather the means of cultivation, were mainly provided by them, though the landlords did more than they are generally credited with. It was accordingly decided to protect the occupiers' improvements, and to allow them compensation for disturbance. But prices were falling from foreign competition, and the bad season of 1879 caused a crisis. Agrarian discontent gave Home Rule such strength as it possessed. In 1881 fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale—the three F's—were granted

by law; but the evils of dual ownership were soon apparent. Attempts to create an occupying proprietary failed as long as the tenant was required to contribute in ready money. The Ashbourne Act in 1885 avoided this by the free use of British credit. The Act passed by Mr. Wyndham in 1903 gave still better terms, both to vendor and purchaser, and a large part of the land was thus transferred to the occupiers. The Act of 1909 seemed a step back, but has really only marked time, for it is now admitted that Land Purchase is more important than Home Rule. Ireland flourishes as she has never flourished before, and yet this is the moment chosen for organic change.

In this necessarily brief and very imperfect survey of Irish History party politics have been avoided, but an Irish Unionist may be allowed to maintain that, since the famine at least, Ireland has been well treated as part of the United Kingdom. Disraeli said we suffered from an alien Church, an absentee aristocracy, and the weakest Executive in the world. The Irish Church has been disestablished for forty-four years, and it is both foolish and wicked to talk of Protestant ascendancy now. The absentee question has been partly, and will soon be entirely, settled by Land Purchase. Modern Ireland is the creation of English policy, and the responsibility will remain with the predominant partner, even when she has deprived herself of the power to restrain and to reform.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE LAST 100 YEARS

It is a very common error, fostered by false prophecies at the time, and by the malcontents of subsequent years, that Irish society was ruined by the Union of 1800. Country society was hardly affected at all, and even Dublin is described by a series of observers in the early decades of the nineteenth century as a very gay city, full of lively society, and given to extravagance. As regards the provinces, the Georgian gentry of the previous century had studded almost every county with mansions which we look at with wonder to-day, if they have not fallen into ruins, and the numbers of occupiers who were called on to spend part of the year in London instead of Dublin, as members of Parliament, was as nothing in the vast crowd of the landed gentry. Not a few who gave up their houses in Dublin, or employed them as dower houses, returned not to England, but to the counties in Ireland where their properties lay, and so became residents in a stricter sense than they were before.

There were two leading causes, very contrasted in character, which encouraged country life in those days. The first was the growing seriousness of Irish society owing to the Evangelical movement, which reformed the established clergy, filled their churches, wherever there were Protestants, and made even the Bishops avoid the scandals which were too frequent even in the previous generation. Swearing, gambling, drinking, and their attendant vices began to diminish, and country life became more desirable for steady people. On the other hand those who found their recreation in sport, and this included perhaps 80 per cent. of the gentry, had their hunting as before, and found with the improvement of guns and tackle a

great new zest in shooting and fishing. The discovery of the percussion lock with caps was a marvellous boon to those that walked the bogs for snipe or beat the coverts for woodcock. Moreover, there was an unlimited amount of free sport, and so it remained till far into the century, when easier access from England brought customers who would pay for moors and rivers, and so the sport of the poorer or middle gentry was gradually but hopelessly curtailed.

Another fact which much assisted Irish society was the excellence of the roads, on which Arthur Young had already commented in 1780, and the excellence of the horses that were then the only means of making long journeys. The Dublin newspapers in the eighteenth century contain endless advertisements of stallions brought from England or even from Barbary. From these and the Irish mares were produced those admirable horses which frequently accomplished sixty miles in the day, with an outside car and its two or three occupants, and suffered no harm. The inns were on the whole very bad, but the universal private hospitality that prevailed was one of the causes of this defect. The late Lord Houghton, who visited the west just before the famine of 1846, found that any care about inns or introductions to resident gentry was needless; that any gentleman to whose house his car-driver brought him in the evening was ready to receive him and keep him when he presented his card. He used to add that the Ireland which he then visited seemed to him the most foreign country of all those which he learned to know in his many wanderings.

Still, in spite of excellent roads and cars and pack-horses it was difficult to move up a whole family with servants from the far country to Dublin, and so there were recognized seasons at spas such as Mallow, and even Swanlinbar in wild Leitrim, where there were lodgings, assembly rooms, dances, horse races, buck hunting, and to these the gentry within thirty or forty miles would gather at a fixed season. So also the county towns, where there were assizes twice a year, and where the grand juries met, were social centres. The great fair of Ballinasloe provided a season for a month in the autumn, and the handsome Georgian houses which still remain there were of the same

nature as houses in Dublin. Kilkenny with its theatricals, for which Tommy Moore used to write prologues, and at which attractive actresses like Miss Stephens sometimes made brilliant matches, brought together many of the higher gentry. So Cork, Limerick, Galway, Sligo had their seasons as well as Dublin.

In the middle of the century the public meetings of the various religious societies in the Rotunda in Dublin attracted not only a host of Evangelical Bishops, rectors, and curates—many of them men of fortune, or younger sons of great houses, in addition to their ample endowments—but their wives came up with pretty marriageable daughters, who were not allowed any such worldly enjoyments as theatres or dances, and their fresh complexions and modest manners made them most attractive even to young men of the world. It was the natural place for the rising young rector to look out for a wife. Among the lesser gentry that resided in the country the endowed clergy of the Irish Church were the most widely diffused, the most constant, and the most useful. The Evangelical movement had killed the scandals of clerical absenteeism which disgraced the eighteenth century. Far the largest part of the incomes of the clergy were necessarily spent on the Roman Catholic poor, who, after the tithe war was over in the south, and in the north where the endowments consisted in large glebe lands and not in tithes, looked on the Protestant clergy as good friends, humane and charitable, who were to be excused if they occasionally preached against the Pope. For this of course the peasantry only knew on hearsay. Even the Romish priests, before a new policy of social separation was introduced by Cardinal Cullen, were good friends with the Protestant clergy and gentry, and often dined on Sunday with the local squire.

Roman Catholic gentry were quite scarce in most parts of the country. The wicked legislation of previous centuries had so far done its work that only a few Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen survived. Strangely enough in the old Pale there remained Plunketts, Prestons, Taafes, of whom but very few had ever conformed to the Established Church. In Co. Galway many landed gentlemen, de-

scendants of the old Tribes, remained Roman Catholic. But in Dublin it was rare to meet them in society. Tommy Moore, for example, was admitted to many houses, in spite of his creed, on account of his great social gifts. But the fact was noted, and the guests were usually informed, sometimes in a tone of apology, that such a one was a Roman Catholic, lest Protestant sentiments might be uttered which would offend him, and cause annoyance even to the speaker when he found that he had violated propriety. Very gradually this separation of the creeds in society gave way to more reasonable tolerance, but it may be cited as an instance of its survival that when Mr. Thomas Burke, a gentleman of good family in Galway, and a high official, was murdered in 1881, a considerable number of the Protestant gentry had never met him in society, and did not even know him by appearance.

Fifty years earlier such ignorance would have seemed a matter of course, and yet a man of such transcendent social talents as Dan O'Connell must always have lived in a gay and brilliant society of his own from which Protestants of intelligence could hardly bear to be excluded. But O'Connell's politics were gall and wormwood to the Tory gentry, and even a Protestant country squire who ventured to utter Liberal opinions was likely to be insulted, and perhaps even challenged to fight a duel. But this latter practice had become rare, and was condemned not by the religious tone of Irish society, but very much by the influence of this very Dan O'Connell, who loathed it ever since he had had the misfortune to kill his antagonist in a quarrel forced upon him by that gentleman. In any case, the great calamity of the famine of 1846-7 so sobered men's minds that after it duelling was almost extinct.

The condition of the peasants only regards us here so far as it influenced the condition of society. For by society we mean the intercourse of the classes with leisure, or as both Greek and Latin writers have called them, "the better classes." The state of the agricultural poor (there were no industries worth the name) had been improving all through the eighteenth century. Not only had the rents for land increased enormously, but the population was also able to increase, and to

cover vast tracts of land which had been waste or mere sheep runs. The long war up to 1815 had kept up the prices for all that they could produce, and the Union had opened to them English and Colonial markets. But the peace of 1815 suddenly brought down all the prices, turned adrift thousands of sick soldiers who had been earning pay and glory abroad, and so produced a state of agricultural distress shown by several smaller famines (in 1820, 1827, and others), which culminated in the terrible disaster resulting from the sudden blight of the potato, the cheapest food on which people could possibly live. During these years many of the gentry, accustomed to the extravagant life of the Georgian era, had not made the necessary retrenchments. The famine caught them already in money distress. The settlements on widows and younger children were on far too high a scale: other incumbrances were frequent, and so a great number of them went to ruin in those lamentable years. The case of the Martins of Ballinahinch (Connemara) was the most signal, but not peculiar in type. The only heiress of 200,000 acres, with its sporting alone a mine of wealth, died an emigrant pauper in New York. It can well be imagined how terribly the surviving landed gentry were sobered by this catastrophe.

It is said that this calamity decreased the population, by famine, fever, and emigration, about one million. A great deal of the careless joviality, of the cheerful penury, of the happiness that comes from within in spite of hard conditions without—all this departed, and with the disappearance of dancing and the singing of lovely national songs, a great silence fell upon the land.

Yet in three or four years this terrible depletion produced unexpected results. The remaining poor were not too many for the land; the remaining gentry had the idle and dissolute weeded out, and began afresh upon a better and more serious life. In seven or eight years after the famine land had again risen to its full value, rents were well paid, and then began a new period of prosperity which lasted for thirty years. There is no better proof of it than the number of new country houses which were built during that period, generally on the site of the older Georgian mansions,

which by a curious vagary in taste were thought plain and ugly, and were replaced by that modern Gothic which is so characteristic of the Victorian epoch. Numbers of admirable specimens of the style which we still admire in Dublin mansions, and which have survived here and there all through the counties, were then destroyed for the sake of the newer fashion. If this was no evidence of good taste, it was certainly a proof of wealth; the sport of the country was still first-rate; hunting, shooting, and fishing had not yet been turned into assets or industries; and there was no pleasanter life in Europe, as those who remember it will attest, than that of Irish country gentlemen and their guests.

Even poorer men had ample opportunities for sport: the local sweep near a salmon river was usually the tier of flies for that water; but he was also a good fisherman, and was readily granted a day's sport to reward him for his skill. There was a great deal of free fishing, even for salmon, and endless free bogs full of snipe. Most of the gentry during the recovery from the famine were not rich enough to hunt, and indeed those that were growing up during the years of dearth had lost or not acquired the habit of riding. But otherwise there were excellent sport and plenty of good society. The local clergy, most of whom had some means beside their livings or else had livings which gave them a comfortable income, were in themselves a large society. Dinner parties of twelve or fourteen could be easily gathered in neighbourhoods where now even motor-cars could hardly collect them.

In the north especially there were rectories with large glebes everywhere, and let it be remembered that the prices of the necessities of life were so low as to excite our wonder nowadays. Then £500 per annum was thought an ample income on which to marry and set up a house. And why not when meat was half its present price, fish and game to be had for the asking from young sportsmen, and above all when the simplicity of life required no luxuries? Potatoes were about 2*d.* per stone; the better vegetables not thought an everyday requisite. The ordinary wines were simply called red and white (*i.e.* port and sherry); champagne and claret (then very dear) were not seen

in frugal houses. Smoking was thought rather a dissolute habit. There was a common belief inculcated on the young that people who smoked would surely learn to drink, and this falsehood passed for truth all through the century till about 1860. Only since then was it discovered that tobacco is inconsistent with wine among people of any taste and was hence a dissuasion from drinking. In richer society they still sat long over their claret. The hour of dinner was gradually moving from 5 to 7.30, and where tobacco had not been introduced there was ample time to sit round the dark mahogany dining-table, polished like a mirror, and drink many bottles of old Lafitte. Though an Irishman was found who thought it perfectly delightful that while they were drinking one and a half bottles per man you could have heard a pin drop in the room, the talk that he hated was the chief amusement and it was certainly of a very high level for fun and humour of the most innocent kind.

In Dublin the brilliant members of the learned professions mixed with the landed gentry, and contributed their share, but by no means a preponderance, of the brilliant talk which then prevailed. Clever women were scarce in this society. With all their domestic virtues, and no small endowment of beauty, they rather ornamented the feast than contributed to its intellectual delights. Gradually, too, distinguished Catholic lawyers and doctors took their proper place, and were much sought after. Alongside of Chief Justice Whiteside and William Magee (afterwards Archbishop of York), who were almost peerless, Morris, Nedley, James Healy, and Father Tom Burke, when he was allowed to peep into the world, were quite distinct, and perhaps just as great in their way.

The first blow to this super-English society was given by the Church Disendowment of 1870, which deprived the rising clergy of their competence and their social position, and filled the ministry of the Church with men perhaps more devoted and more spiritual, but certainly less able and less broad, and above all less fit for the pleasures of society. Then came the successive Land Acts, which deprived the owners of land of most of their incomes and their influence, so that they also began to disappear from the counties.

The parson who was a country gentleman, and the country gentleman of moderate fortune, who was his equal and associate, left a land not fit for them, and migrated either to the suburbs of Dublin or into some profession which would provide living wage for a man of refinement and good traditions. Meanwhile the great people who had fine country houses had long abandoned their Dublin mansions, most of which have fallen into decay or become public offices. The gatherings in county towns like Cork and Kilkenny have long ceased. There is still occasional good company in the great country houses, but it is no longer distinctly Irish. Shooting parties are generally made up from other country houses, often far removed, or else English friends come over to have a week's sport in Ireland. In most cases the remaining country gentry are not seen at these parties.

Dublin is, of course, still inhabited by able and rich professional men, and also by leading business men, and almost all the villas around it are now peopled by men who make their fortunes in some sort of trade, including those merchant princes who take a high place in any society. But the advent of electric tramcars and of motors has done more to spoil strictly Dublin society than any moral or political causes. Dinner-parties in Dublin, where clever people used to meet and talk, are becoming rare, dances in private houses still rarer, and the man who can remember the leading streets and squares full of the old landed gentry, walks along them now as a comparative stranger. Not that the new inhabitants are not in many ways busier and better than the people of leisure and old traditions, but they are of a different sort. Probably similar changes have taken place in the society of many parts of the Empire. If they are due to inevitable change it is idle to lament them. It remains for the new society of Ireland to show that it is better, larger, and more sympathetic than those that made ancestry, and creed, and leisure the indispensable passports to good society. That it is quite possible to have excellent society of all sorts in the same house is proved by the eminent success of Sir Horace Plunkett in bringing together men and women of all conditions, provided only they have something to say.

CHAPTER IV^{*}

THE ULSTER PLANTATION

ULSTER was the last of the Irish provinces to be subdued. In Ulster the Normans themselves had failed effectually to contest the supremacy of the Irish lords, O'Neills, O'Donells, and the rest. There had been, indeed, an early settlement of some importance in Down and Antrim, but after the murder of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in 1333, his countess fled to England with her child, and the O'Neills of Tyrowen, who had, however, no connexion with the crime, crossed the Bann and extended their territory westward to what are now the suburbs of Belfast. By the reign of Henry VIII. a large part of the old Norman estates had passed into the hands of the MacDonells of the Isles, Scots to whom is attributed an Irish origin; and we find the number of the Red Shanks, or Scottish adventurers, in North-East Ulster estimated in 1598 at from two to three thousand. Thus (it is interesting to note) long before the Plantation was imagined there were Scots in Ulster. To put it mildly, their English reputation was not that of the modern Ulster men.

Henry VIII., owing to the recent good fortune of the English arms in Ireland, began his reign with better Irish prospects than his predecessors had had. His hand fell heavily upon the Geraldines; but he ennobled two of the great Ulster chieftains, the O'Neill and the O'Donell, who became respectively Earls of Tyrone and of Tyrconnell, and it is said that he hoped to found his Irish power on an aristocracy of Celtic race. In 1541 a Bill for the alteration of the Royal title, whereby it was changed to King instead of lord of Ireland, was passed by the Dublin Parliament, in

which sat some of the native chieftains. Under Mary and Elizabeth the fate of Ireland again fell into the melting-pot. Mary Tudor's deputy, Bellingham, carried out a plantation in the midlands, and Ulster's turn was soon to come. But the O'Neills, most powerful, most civilized, and most *intransigent* of Irish chieftains, needed much subduing. Hugh O'Neill battled for years against the English invasions, whilst the Scottish raiders constituted another very serious problem for English statesmen, some of Queen Mary's advisers being convinced that their expulsion must be regarded as a preliminary to any Irish settlement. Meanwhile further plantations were attempted in Munster; but Ulster was not ready for the experiment until in 1607, during the Viceroyalty of Sir Arthur Chichester, the earls, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, involved in final disaster, abandoned their estates and, as told in an earlier chapter, left Ireland for ever.

Chichester urged that in the division of the forfeited estates the Irish should have a first choice—in other words, that intending English and Scottish colonists should only benefit by such portions of the partition as the Irish did not require. His opinion was, however, overruled by King James in Council, Bacon, among others, urging that the harp of David should be joined “in casting out the evil spirit of superstition with the harp of Orpheus in casting out desolation and barbarism.” Chichester and Sir John Davies surveyed the province, and Davies condemned the collective system of land tenure which prevailed under Celtic custom, together with all things Irish, suggesting that if the natives were allowed to occupy the whole country they would be “near to the end of the world.” Chichester agreed that the system of hereditary properties should be substituted for that of life ownerships, and naturally the decision to carry out a scheme of British immigration involved the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon system of primogeniture and the destruction of all vestiges of the Brehon code. Over five thousand acres of arable land were in question in the six counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, about two thousand acres of which were acquired by the London Companies. As the scheme worked out the

dispossession of the natives was much larger than had been originally intended; we find that the London Companies refused to have "promiscuous habitation" with the Irish, even where the Irish had proved loyal, unless they were contented to be tenants. Wonderful stories were told in England of the wealth of Ulster, so that a keen competition might be engendered among the prospective colonists. Some of the new landholders were called "undertakers," others "servitors," the remainder being native proprietors. The undertakers were allowed no Irish tenants. If they owned a proportion of two thousand acres, they had to settle on their land forty-eight able-bodied men, or twenty farmers of Scotch or English birth; to prevent disputes the lands were drawn by lots. These two classes are said to have laid hands on at least a fifth part of the arable soil of Ulster; Trinity College and the Church also benefited under the scheme. To strengthen the character of the garrison and to help towards the defrayment of expenses the order of the baronetage was instituted in 1611. Each purchaser of the title had to contribute thirty soldiers to maintain the Royal authority in Ulster; but the custom lapsed in Charles the Second's reign. Further, some of the "servitors"—who were for the most part retired civil and military officials—were located in Irish baronies, taking what good land was available in these harsher districts. On the death of the neighbouring Irish proprietor the servitor, thus situated, had often a reversion of the estate; but he made full use of the possession to keep Irish tenants, since the Irishman was ready, as a rule, to pay a higher rent than an Englishman or a Scotsman. The vast majority of the dispossessed natives—when they did not obtain any small grant in freehold—were obliged to rent holdings as best they could. It was not only the Irish lords and their immediate dependants who suffered by the planting and transplanting. The reconstruction of Ulster along English lines involved among other things the disappearance of the system of free pasturage. The "creaghts," or wandering herdsmen, were quickly cured of their Irish habits. The "swordsmen" were either "disposed of in the King's service" or transplanted to the worst parts of Munster and Connaught.

The contemporary history of Antrim and Down, counties which were not considered under the great plantation scheme, merits particular notice. As has been already remarked, the coast of Antrim during the sixteenth century had a continuous acquaintance with adventurers from Scotland. At the beginning of the seventeenth (mainly from Ayrshire and the Galloway ports) there were further Scottish immigrations, memorably associated with the names of Hamilton and Montgomery. A romantic story is that of the dealings between an O'Neill, Conn, and Hugh Montgomery of Ayrshire, which concluded with the cession of half the Irishman's lands in Clannaboye to the Scotsman. One James Hamilton, a compatriot of Montgomery, was in the same transaction granted all the lands in Upper Clannaboye and the Great Ards which had been possessed by Conn and his father, Bryan, with instructions to plant the land with English and Scottish colonists. Hamilton's property lay in the west part of North County Down, Montgomery's in the east part; so far as can be ascertained, both Montgomery and Hamilton were exceedingly successful colonists: indeed, to them has been attributed the foundation of the prosperity of North-East Ulster. The conditions were somewhat different from those which obtained in the general plantation. Thus, according to his agreement with O'Neill, Hugh Montgomery received his estate in town lands, whereas the other undertakers of plantations from Scotland had several "scopes" (proportions) of land assigned them. The settlers whom Montgomery and Hamilton brought over with them to occupy Down were, even according to the testimony of hostile historians, a respectable class of men.

In Antrim Chichester himself was a pioneer. In 1603 the Deputy obtained a grant of the Castle of Belfast, and then extended his possessions along the northern shore of the Bay, almost as far as Larne. South Antrim seems to have been mainly settled by Englishmen. Chichester, who did not reside on his property, let it on leases, usually to officers. Later on Down and Antrim were among the Irish counties selected for the satisfaction of Cromwell's soldiers; but it was found possible to arrange matters

without disturbing the earlier aliens to any serious extent.

The six confiscated counties contained about 3,798,000 statute acres. This vast area, says Hill, was parcelled out to British undertakers, London citizens, English servitors in Ireland, Protestant churches, and certain of the native inhabitants; for even the little shreds given the Irish were given them from the confiscated lands as specified for plantation purposes. Another writer, Dr. Reid, in the "History of the Presbyterian Church," gives the area of the six escheated counties as 2,000,000 acres, but omits to state whether English or Irish acres. Dr. Reid, following Pynnar, author of the "Survey of Ulster," would have us believe that only 400,000 acres passed to the English and Scots. It is an absurd estimate. Pynnar, who is at best a doubtful authority, had to do in his work only with the disposal of arable or profitable land. Froude's opinion that one and a half million acres were returned to the natives is beside the mark. As Hill shows, the Commissions entrusted with the survey must have enormously under-estimated the amount of available land, even supposing that they disregarded the waste.

The Londoners conceived no situation "whereon to inhabit and plant" more fitting than Derry. Derry was therefore taken out of Tyrconnel and included in the county of Londonderry. In March 1613 the "Irish Society," with William Cockaine as first governor, was incorporated by charter. On December 17, 1613, Alderman Cockaine assembled the Masters and Wardens of the Companies to take their lots in the grand raffle; and the estates in question also included Sir Randall Macdonell's lands on the eastern side of the Bann, which he agreeably surrendered in return for compensation. The outstanding achievement of the Companies in the North of Ireland was the foundation of the prosperity of the two towns, Londonderry and Coleraine, the ports whereby immigrants now entered and overspread the fertile neighbouring districts.

It is not a fact that, as a consequence of the Plantation, Ulster was transformed into a heaven upon earth. Some of the new proprietors were unable to acquire Scottish or English tenants, or were content to let the

Irish cultivate their lands. The original policy which had aimed at stocking Ulster with the English and Scots in equal numbers also miscarried, or at least Scottish ideas, in the form of Presbyterianism, became dominant—so much so that Wentworth actually contemplated undoing the work of his predecessor. Nor did the dispossessed Irish abandon all hope of revenge, and indeed in 1641 and succeeding years inflicted terrible damage on the new colonies, excepting those in North Down, South Antrim, and along the Foyle. Long previous, however, to the great Irish rising, the Government seems to have been only moderately satisfied with the progress of affairs. The undertakers from England are described as “for the most part plain country-gentlemen who may promise much but ‘give small assurance of performing what appertains to a work of such moment.” The undertakers from Scotland came “with greater port” but “with less money in their purses.” Ormonde, writing in 1667, distinguishes the Ulster Presbyterians from the “truly loyal” subjects, and he puts them into two categories, Scots and English, for Ulster Presbyterianism is not altogether of Scottish origin, but a portion of the English, especially in the London settlements, supported the Scottish party in ecclesiastical matters. The Scottish Nonconformists, says Ormonde, are “more hardy, more united in opinion, more compact in neighbourhood and habitation”; the English are “more set upon trade and improvements, not so unanimously bent one way, more scattered in the country.” In the same passage Ormonde speaks of the “wretched habitations” of the Scots and of the “itinerant preachers who inflame them.” But, says a modern German writer, Dr. Bonn, “it was just this individuality that Ireland needed”; at least we do not find in the North, as we do in the South of Ireland, that the colonists created a social organization akin to that of the Slave States. One may add that the growth of Presbyterianism formed the character of the race and helped it to a self-respect to which the actual circumstances of its arrival in Ireland had not conduced. The Presbyterian population in Ulster cannot but owe a part of its hardiness no doubt to the discipline it has endured; it faced not only the terrors of

Irish rebellion, but a great deal of English repression. After the Boyne the Irish menace was removed, and it was calculated by Archbishop Synge that 50,000 Scottish families settled in Ulster between the Revolution and 1715. But Anglican persecution, so far from abating, continued to provoke sedition and discord, and with the Mercantile Laws was responsible for a considerable flight of Ulster Nonconformists to the American Colonies. All these chances and changes make it difficult to estimate the exact proportions of English, Scottish, and Irish blood in the present composition of the northern province. One calls Down and Antrim Scotch, Fermanagh Irish and English, Cavan and Donegal Irish; or, relying upon statistics of religion and politics, one finds that the descendants of the planters are here in a majority, there in a minority, much as it has been from the beginning. Thus, according to a register of hearth-taxes in 1732, it appeared that the planters' families were in a majority in four counties, Armagh, Derry, Antrim, and Down—the four counties still least Irish according to political and religious returns. On the other hand, one must consider the intermarriages that took place between Scots (rather than English) and natives in the early days of the settlement. One must suppose that there have been Irish who turned Protestant from worldly motives. One must note that the names of many who call themselves Ulster Scots to-day are pure Irish, and wonder if the tendency in the North has been the reverse of that in the South, where the Irish acted as the absorbing element. Finally the immigration of the Huguenots (who played so large a part in Ulster industry) after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and their particular influence on Belfast, must not be forgotten. The more allowances one makes, however, the more must it seem to be one of the most extraordinary of the mere chances of history that the actual situation in Ulster should be what it was in the minds of James the First's advisers three hundred years ago to make it.

PART III

IRISH ART AND LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

EARLY ART IN IRELAND

IRELAND alone of all the Celtic countries escaped the conquering armies of Rome, and her art is distinguished by an almost unbroken Celtic tradition continuing down to the end of the sixteenth century. In Britain and Gaul the Roman occupation stifled the native genius, and it is only in Ireland that we find it surviving into Christian times and culminating in such masterpieces of art as the Book of Kells, the Tara brooch, and the Ardagh chalice.

The La Tène period appears to have commenced in Ireland about 300 B.C. The character of this distinctive type of ornament, called in England "late Celtic," is based upon the adaptation of the classical palmette and meander patterns. These designs were modified by the Celts with spiral and scroll patterns and developed with such taste and skill that a style was produced which was absolutely original, and whose sudden appearance as a fully developed school of ornament is still a mystery. The great collection of native antiquities commenced over seventy years ago by the Royal Irish Academy and now preserved in the National Museum, Dublin, enables us to study the growth of Irish art and its development into a true national style.

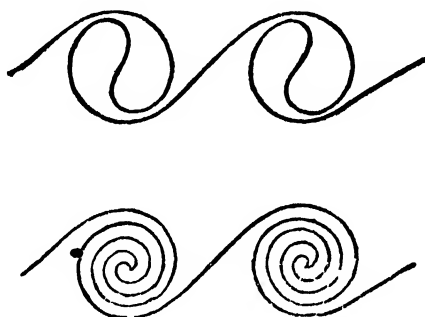
With the earlier pre-Christian period we do not propose to deal at great length, as its general features are common to the art of Celtic Britain and Gaul. On

the whole, the style of the Irish specimens appears to show more deviation from the original models than is the case in the other countries mentioned, and the absence of any true La Tène brooches points to a rather late introduction of the art. Of actual though somewhat late examples of the work of this period we may mention the magnificent gold collar, portion of the celebrated Limavady find, and the richly decorated bronze sword-sheaths found at Lisnacrogghera, County Antrim. The gold collar, the finest of its type known, is a triumph of artistic excellence. Its exterior surface is decorated with long graceful curves with trumpet-shaped ends, and the background is shaded with a pattern of delicate lines drawn with compasses. The ornamentation on the sword-sheaths consists of the long sweeping S-shaped curves characteristic of La Tène ornament, the engraving being in this case of more than usual delicacy and refinement.

Ireland, as has been stated, escaped the domination of Rome, and her freedom accounts for the most interesting feature of early Irish art, which is the survival and adaptation into the later Christian period of the patterns in use in the earlier centuries. This can be well studied in the MSS., such as the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells, on stone carvings in the great series of inscribed grave slabs at Clonmacnois, and on metal in the numerous early pen-annular brooches, dated about A.D. 700, preserved in the National Museum. The survivals of La Tène ornament on these can be clearly seen, and the derivatives from the earlier motives are of the greatest interest. If we take the brooches and study them carefully for a short time we shall see that the earliest display La Tène ornament and derivatives from it, while in the later examples we find a combination of this older style with interlaced work, the most perfect example being the Tara brooch, in which the two elements are blended into an harmonious whole. A little later the La Tène survivals disappear from the metalwork, and we find them replaced by interlaced and zoomorphic patterns.

The introduction of interlaced patterns was the great turning point in Irish art, and it is no exaggeration to say that with interlaced ornament as a medium

a new era of art commenced and resulted in the formation of a truly national style. These patterns first came into vogue in the seventh and continued during the eighth century, gradually displacing the La Tène survivals and completely superseding them in the eleventh. The interlaced style was first fully developed and brought to its perfection in the great monastic schools of Ireland. No doubt the more elastic technique of penmanship and brushwork allowed a freer development than is possible on metal work. Of the art of the Irish MSS. much has already been written, and much more could be added. They admittedly stand in the front rank of early MSS. for the beauty and excellence of their penmanship and illuminations. It is in them that the student must search for the



SPIRAL AND S-TURN

highest development of the interlaced patterns. As well as interlacements, the earlier MSS. contain numerous examples of La Tène derivatives, or, as this type of pattern is called in Irish ornament, "trumpet pattern." People are often puzzled by the term "trumpet pattern." It is a term used for convenience for the large fan-shaped swelling at the end of the La Tène curves. This being in high relief in repoussé work becomes emphasized in a form exactly like the end of a trumpet. When the final development of the ornament was reached this trumpet-end form was set free and appears as an independent boss. Any one who studies a characteristic piece of La Tène work, such as one of the bronze disks from County Kildare, will have no difficulty in recognizing the trumpet pattern. In the MSS. the high relief effect of these

trumpet ends was obtained by means of inserting small almond-shaped spots of colour different from the rest of the patterns where the bosses occur in the metal work.

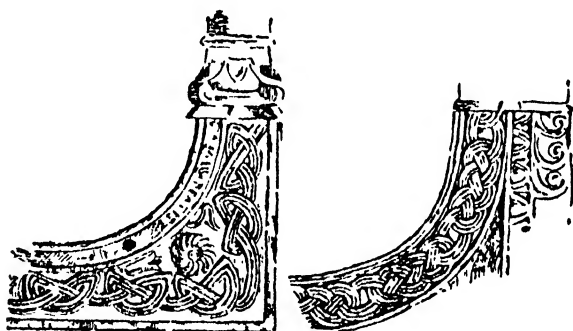
Such a striking analogy has been found to exist between the ornamentation of certain bronze objects and the circular panels of trumpet pattern of the MSS. that it has been suggested that the latter must have been copied from them. These objects, which are enamelled disks affixed to bronze bowls, and dated between the fifth and end of the seventh century, thus form a connecting link between the illuminated MSS. and the metal work of the period.

Interlacements were part of the repertory of ornament and symbolism general in the whole Christian Church at this period, and the style spreading gradually through Europe would appear to have developed into a more distinct school of design in Ireland than elsewhere. One special point about the Irish interlacements must, however, be mentioned, and that is that the intertwined bands are either plain or divided into two only. This circumstance points to the East rather than to Italy as the originating inspiration of this style of ornament in Ireland. A word may be said about fret patterns. These, no doubt based upon the classical fret, were developed in Ireland in quite a remarkable and original way, and one of the most interesting features of the remarkable series of cross slabs at Clonmacnois is the great use that is made of all kinds of ingeniously designed fret patterns. Allusion has already been made to this great series of sculptured slabs, remarkable not only as a corpus of Christian inscriptions in Irish but as a repertory of interlaced and spiral as well as fret patterns.

Previous to the interlaced period animal forms were very seldom used, but in the MSS. animal forms and even the human figure were adapted and twisted into the prevailing interlacements. The bodies of men, necks of birds, tails and limbs of beasts were intertwined and interlaced, forming patterns of great fantasy and intricacy. Foliage is not usually met with in Celtic ornament, but trefoil leaves were more or less conventionalized, and wheel corollas are fairly common.

The question as to the derivation of the Irish animal forms is one of much difficulty. Several authorities have sought their origin in the grotesque and widely distributed animal forms which play such a leading part in the ornament of Germany from about the fifth century. In Ireland, however, the animal motives are of a more refined type, and display on the whole more artistic merit than the somewhat coarser Continental patterns, and this, combined with the fact of the dominance in Ireland of the twofold band, as against the threefold band of the Continent, makes a German origin open to doubt.

The portrayal of the human figure never reached a high degree of excellence in Irish art. On the Continent engravings of figures of men and horses are



KNOT WORK, EIGHTH CENTURY

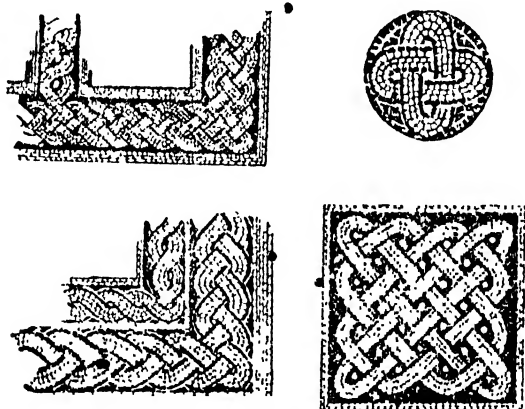
found on some of the sword-sheaths of the La Tène period, but in Ireland the human figure is not met with until the commencement of the interlaced style. When we do meet with it in the illuminated MSS. it is conventionalized in an astonishing manner. The features are converted into spiral curves, and the drapery of the body is covered with key patterns, interlaced work, and spirals. It has been suggested that the figures were purposely conventionalized so as to prevent an appeal to the senses and to discourage idolatry, but this is very unlikely. The aim of the Celtic artist was not to produce a likeness of living things, but to use human or animal forms as subsidiary motives useful for combining with and displaying the intricate and delicate interlaced patterns

and knots with which he loved to decorate his works. The illuminated pages in the MSS. tell the same story, for there is no attempt to use the natural tints; the illuminators used their colours, as the early workers in stained glass used their brilliantly coloured disks, not with any idea of naturalism, but to make up a wonderful jewel-like picture of pleasing colours. On the High Crosses we find a comprehensive scheme of Christian figure sculpture, and the human figures, though rough and devoid of beauty, are often vigorously and expressively carved. Some of the representations of animals often placed on the bases, such as deer and horses, are very well carved, and show the artist possessed a great feeling for life and movement. Quite apart from the great importance these monuments possess as documents for the symbolism and dress of the period (about the tenth century), they will repay study from the purely artistic point of view.

Undoubtedly one of the most curious representations of the human figure on Irish metal work is to be seen on the bronze plaque of the Crucifixion found at Athlone. Here we have an extraordinarily conventionalized figure of our Lord with two figures, one representing the soldier with the spear and the other the soldier with the sponge, and at each side of the Saviour's head, resting on the arms of the cross, is an angel. The robes of the figures and the wings of the angels are decorated with borders of spiral, interlaced, and fret patterns, while on the upper portion of the Saviour's figure are some remarkable pieces of trumpet pattern.

The repoussé bronze figures of men and women on the shrine of St. Moedoc, which belongs to about the eleventh century, are of the same type as those on the High Cross of St. Muiredach at Monasterboice, and like them their costumes are ornamented with skew frets and interlaced patterns; but the work on the bronze shrine is much finer, and the figures, though highly conventional, have a refined and most decorative appearance. One end of this shrine has a figure of St. David playing the harp, and the representation of the method of playing the instrument is singularly accurate.

A word or two must be said about the art of enamelling, which reached such perfection in the Christian period of Irish art. Enamelling was practised by the Celts previous to their contact with the Romans, and it was brought to a high degree of excellence by the Celts of the Continent and Britain. During the earlier period lumps of bright sealing-wax red enamel were used to replace the pieces of coral with which the Celts formerly decorated their shields, etc. These lumps of red enamel were at first attached to the objects by pins, like the coral they replaced. Later the enamel workers learnt to cover larger



ROMANO-BRITISH MOSAIC PAVEMENTS

surfaces, and discovered the *champlevé* process, in which the ground of the metal is dug out to form a resting-place for the enamel. In Ireland, on the whole, the Celts of the pre-Christian period appear to have made a more sparing use of enamel than in Britain, but there is a large lump of bright sealing-wax red enamel in the Royal Irish Academy's collection in the National Museum, which was found many years ago at Tara Hill. Experiment has shown that this piece of enamel was not intended to be fused, nor is it exhausted, but was prepared to be cut into plaques or studs and attached to objects in the fashion of the earliest Celtic enamels. In the Christian period the fine tradition of the enamelling of the Heroic period was continued, wonderful results being achieved, the enamels on the Ardagh chalice being the most famous,

though there are other very fine examples of this period. In this later period of the art yellow and a bright translucent blue were frequently employed.

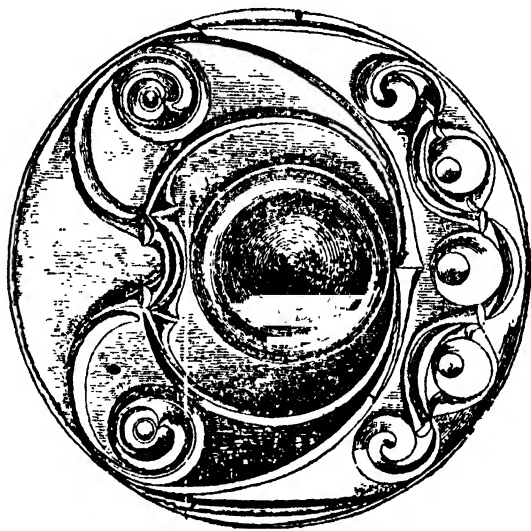
The Christian art of Ireland reached its highest point between the sixth and the ninth centuries, the transition to a more decadent style becoming evident about the year 900. During this period it exercised a good deal of influence on the art of Scandinavia. Numerous objects of Irish work of both the earlier and later periods have been found in Norway, and the native art of Scandinavia bears the impress of a foreign (Irish) influence, which appears to have extended far beyond the districts where Irish objects have been found.

A return wave of Northern influence also made itself felt in Ireland, and after the Norse and Danes had made good their settlements in the country in the ninth century the Irish interlaced patterns show a considerable Scandinavian element of a flamboyant and somewhat barbaric type, especially to be noticed in the prevalence of serpent or dragon motives. The shrine of St. Patrick's bell, which has its sides decorated with a splendid ornament of interlaced serpents, and the Cross of Cong, the back of which is decorated with a serpent pattern treated in a bold and vigorous manner, may be mentioned as showing examples of such designs.

The transition from the earlier to the later and more flamboyant style can be followed by a study of the ornamentation of the Irish crosiers. The Irish crosier was really a shrine, being a metal covering made to protect the old and venerated pilgrims' staff or stick which had belonged traditionally to one or other of the saints of the early Church. Most of the Celtic crosiers that have been preserved are the work of the eleventh century, but there are some which are earlier. One of the earliest is the large crosier preserved in the National Museum, Dublin, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Durrow, King's County, and is traditionally connected with St. Columba. It has been much mutilated, but portions of the ornamentation remain on which the work is extremely fine and delicate, and in striking contrast to the bold free patterns and zoomorphic work on the later crosiers

such as the crosier of the abbots of Clonmacnois. Another portion of a crosier formerly in the collection of Dr. Petrie is of early date, and here again the patterns are all of a very restrained and delicate type, consisting of fine interlacements, while the zoomorphic element so prominent on the later examples is completely absent.

The Anglo-Norman invasion in 1172 caused the decay of the Hiberno-Danish art, and it was replaced by the general Romanesque and Gothic styles. We have few examples of good metal work of the post-invasion period. The Royal Irish Academy's collection



BRONZE DISK

possesses two silver shrines, the Domnach Airgid and the shrine of St. Patrick's tooth, but the work on both these, though interesting, is much inferior to that of the artists of the preceding period.

The Gothic buildings of Ireland have up to the present not been very carefully studied, and they would probably repay detailed investigation, as, although it has been thought that the Gothic style never took any deep root in Ireland and that the work is on the whole a rather poor copy of English building, many churches bear the stamp of the national genius, and their architectural details are totally at variance

with the manifestations of the style as seen in England itself.

We cannot do better than conclude this short sketch of early Irish art by referring to the classic passage of arms between Dr. Brinkley, Bishop of Cloyne, a former President of the Royal Irish Academy, and Dr. George Petrie, when the latter was addressing the Academy for the first time. Dr. Brinkley said, "Surely, Sir, you do not mean to tell us that there exists the slightest evidence to prove that the Irish had any acquaintance with the arts of civilized life anterior to the arrival in Ireland of the English?" That even eighty years ago such an idea should have been expressed seems almost incredible to us who are able to follow the wonderful growth and independent development of Irish art until it reached its golden age in the seventh and eighth centuries. Happily the days of such ignorance are long past, and after struggling with centuries of neglect and contempt the early pre-Norman art of Ireland is now recognized as being one of the most original and decorative ever produced in any country.

It must be remembered that this result is largely due to the patriotism and foresight of the Royal Irish Academy in bringing together the magnificent collection of Irish antiquities which makes the National Museum, Dublin, one of the most important in Europe for the study of ancient Celtic art.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT POSITION OF ART IN IRELAND

THE few art-lovers of Ireland are, at the moment, rejoiced to think that they have secured the magnificent group of modern pictures which Sir Hugh Lane collected and promised to present to the City of Dublin on the fulfilment of certain conditions. The conditions have not been strictly complied with, and the time for compliance elapsed on St. Patrick's Day. But the Dublin Corporation has approved of a site for a new Gallery, selected by the committee appointed to consider the question ; and the sum of money needed for the scheme has been almost attained. Under these circumstances it is not thought likely that Sir Hugh Lane will be rigidly exacting. During many months the fate of the pictures was very uncertain. Dublin displayed a most astonishing apathy about their acquisition. A "Canadian Friend" sent a subscription of £2,500 towards erection of the building required to house them. Lady Gregory collected £2,000 in America. Mr. George Bernard Shaw tried to spur the city into activity with a long letter and a gift of £100. Yet Dublin was content to give a subscription of barely £5,000. When the new Municipal Gallery is erected the influence of the Lane Collection installed therein should do much to dispel this indifference to art which seems so foreign to the Irish character.

For the early art of Ireland has been recognized by all competent authorities as possessing a very exceptional and individual merit. In architecture, in metal work, in illumination, the Irish were, at one time, ahead of all Europe. Ruskin declared: "In the eighth century Ireland possessed a school of art in her manuscripts and sculpture which, in many of its

qualities—apparently in all essential qualities of decorative invention—was quite without rival, seeming as if it might have advanced to the highest triumphs in architecture and painting"; but centuries of strife, a lack of social intercourse with other nations, a long-continued state of civil and political serfdom, a want of money, and a want of adequate teaching have all combined to defer the fulfilment of the promise of early Irish art.

It was only towards the close of the eighteenth century that the arts in Ireland showed signs of a revival. The wealth and splendour of Georgian Dublin naturally called forth much latent talent. Such painters as Hugh Douglas Hamilton, Martin Cregan, and William Cuming showed that Ireland could produce fine artists when occasion called for them. An Irishman, Nathaniel Hone, was among the foundation members of the Royal Academy. Another Irishman, James Barry, became its professor of painting. A third, Sir Martin Archer Shee, was President of the Royal Academy in succession to Sir Thomas Lawrence. In those days, as at present, a painter of any particular talent in Ireland was generally irresistibly drawn, by the desire of fame and fortune, to make his home and find his sitters or his subjects in England.

The establishment of the Royal Hibernian Academy marks the inception of an effort to secure for Irish painters a local habitation and a name—to afford them opportunities of fostering public taste and creating a market for their productions in their own country. It was founded under a Royal Charter of George III. in the year 1823, the stated objects being: "(1) Giving to the Royal Hibernian Academy, which must be considered as the representative of the artists of Ireland, its due position in reference to the promotion and teaching of the fine arts: (2) the securing to the inhabitants of Dublin, by the annual exhibitions of modern art, opportunities, which cannot be overestimated, of rational amusement, mental cultivation, and refinement of taste." For a building, the newly established Academy had to look to the generosity of one of its own members. Francis Johnston, an architect, in 1826, and his wife Anne, in 1830, presented the premises in Abbey Street occupied by the Academy to the

present day. A President of the Academy, Sir Thomas Jones, generously added a schoolroom for the study of life model. Queen Victoria apportioned part of a Prince Albert Memorial Fund to provide prizes. The tale of the Government's contributions is confined to the cost of repairing the roof in the year 1872 and to the provision of an annual grant of £300, first voted by Parliament in the year 1832. Almost all this £300 has been spent, during the eighty years it has been granted, in maintaining a life school for young artists who intend adopting art as a profession. This school is not under the charter, but was established by a resolution of the members, and is wholly dependent on their voluntary service as visitors and teachers.

The present position of the Academy is melancholy in the extreme. Its grant is wholly inadequate to enable it to perform its purposes. Its charter burdens it with cumbersome and out-of-date restrictions. One of its Presidents very fairly described its situation as in an "obscure byeway and decaying buildings." When the Academy was founded the buildings were in an ideal locality, for the north side of the Liffey was then the residential quarter of the rank and fashion of Dublin; but within a century the decline, both in social status and in population, of the north side of Dublin has been immense. New Dublin, to the number of at least 300,000 people, has grown on the south side of the river; and its inhabitants but rarely find themselves in the dingy district where the art of Ireland has its official abode.

Numerous reports—the latest by a Commission of Inquiry into the work carried on by the Academy, appointed in 1905—have been made to various Governments recommending reforms. But they have all been entirely unheeded. The Academy still continues to carry on its functions in the face of many disadvantages, and its annual exhibitions are always most interesting. With proper encouragement it could undoubtedly do much for the cause of art in Ireland.

There is only one other school of fine art in Ireland which at all rivals the Academy school. This is the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art. Though in point of numbers it altogether outstrips the Academy, yet it

is far behind it in the services it has rendered to art. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction administers the Dublin Metropolitan School, and all the teachers are appointed by that body. No one can wonder that, under such auspices, the school has become parochial in its methods, and fails to excite much sympathy in the artists of the country. In his evidence before the Commission of 1905 Mr. William Orpen, A.R.A., described the main aim of the school. He said :

"The method comes down to this. They take a student into the school and they train him to be what they call an 'art teacher.' The people who train him have gone through the same course and have become 'art teachers.' He, in his turn, will probably train the next generation to be 'art teachers.' The idea of training a student to be an artist who produces works of art never seems to enter their head. The one object of the student in their schools is to become a student in training and to blossom into an 'art teacher'—a business in which a student, however dull, can always make a living."

Mr. George Moore ridiculed the methods of the school with a wonderful little word picture of a Christian brother learning to model a clay apple. The reproach of being an establishment solely for the teaching of technical craft and design has been largely removed by Mr. Orpen himself during late years. He has devoted a great deal of his time to teaching painting and drawing in the school, and many of his pupils show great promise. Still, beaten metal, stained glass, enamelled buckles, embroidered book covers, designs for lace and for the textile industries form by far the greater proportion of the work produced. Though such work is highly important, it should be jealously kept within its proper sphere, and prevented from stunting more valuable effort.

Ireland was without hope of a national picture gallery till the year 1853, when, at the close of the great Dublin Exhibition, a number of Irish art-lovers united to form an association called "The Irish Institution" for the purpose of establishing a permanent

gallery. From a fund which was founded to commemorate the public services of William Dargan, who had defrayed the expenses of the exhibition, "The Irish Institution" succeeded in obtaining a sum of £5,000 towards the erection of a public gallery of art. A site was secured on Leinster Lawn, and, with the aid of private donations and Parliamentary grants, the gallery was erected at a total cost of nearly £30,000.

Ten years after the formation of the Irish Institution the National Gallery of Ireland was formally opened by the then Lord Lieutenant. In 1903 the gallery buildings were more than doubled in size at the cost of about £21,000. The government of the gallery is by a board of governors, whose appointment is vested in the Lord Lieutenant. The Government allows £4,127 for its upkeep and for the purchase of pictures.

This gallery contains a collection of about 600 pictures and 600 drawings, for the most part very meritorious. To Mr. Henry E. Doyle, the second Director, who made his purchases with extraordinary taste and knowledge, the chief credit for the gallery's importance is due. In examples of little Dutch Masters the collection is particularly rich, but there are numerous masterpieces of other schools well worthy to adorn any national collection in the world. Among the gallery's prizes are a trio of Rembrandts—"The Shepherds Reposing at Night" is probably the finest Rembrandt landscape in the British Isles since Lord Lansdowne's famous "Mill" was sold to America. There, also, may be found great paintings by Fra Angelico, Mantegna, Titian, Botticelli, Francia, Goya, Hals, Rubens, Reynolds, Hogarth, Raeburn, Gainsborough, Chardin, and Watteau, to name only a few at hazard.

The National Gallery of Ireland does not receive the patronage of Dublin citizens to the extent which it deserves. This is, no doubt, due to the slack and casual manner in which it is managed. New acquisitions are not often announced in the daily papers. There has been no catalogue of this most interesting collection procurable at its doors for over eighteen months. Though the regulations provide for the closing of the gallery annually, during one month,

for the purposes of cleaning and arrangement, the gallery actually was shut for a further considerable period during last year. Visitors to the Dublin Horse Show of 1912 were in many instances deeply disappointed to find the gallery closed to them during Horse Show week without explanation or warning. The public, for whose education and enjoyment it is intended, must be blamed for their tolerance of such a state of affairs.

The new art gallery, which is at present in process of evolution in Dublin, is run on quite different lines. This is the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, which owes its existence to the energy, generosity, and taste of one man, Sir Hugh Lane. The extraordinarily high standard of merit it displays is really unique among the modern art galleries of Europe. The Keeper of the Luxembourg, M. Léonce Pénédite, has paid fervent tribute to it. M. Arsène Alexandre has made it famous in France by an article entitled, "L'Art de donner un Musée." All that is best in modern art is here worthily represented. Corot's first exhibited picture and the painting he signed on his deathbed hang amid eleven other examples of his work. Manet's "Madame Gonzales" and the "Concert aux Tuileries" are surrounded by great paintings by Renoir, Degas, Monet, Boudin, and Pissarro. In the English room are works by Whistler, Sargent, Watts, Millais, Brangwyn, and Wilson Steer. Six statues by Rodin adorn the little conservatory that does duty as a sculpture gallery. Among the three hundred and odd items which comprise the collection there is nothing even mediocre. Such a treasure should be housed in a palatial building in the most populous quarter of the city. As a matter of fact it is crammed in a wholly unsuitable private house, in an unfashionable, ill-lit street, where none of the pictures can be properly observed, and where there is serious danger of their total destruction from fire.

This state of affairs can only be explained by recalling the history of the gallery. In 1904 the executors of the late J. Staats Forbes arranged that if any portion of his fine collection were purchased for a public gallery it would be sold at a price much below its market value. Instigated and aided by

Sir Hugh Lane, 'a number of art amateurs' secured some of the finest works for Dublin. This was the nucleus of the Municipal Collection. Many famous artists contributed paintings, and the collection grew so rapidly that in 1905 the Municipal Council voted £500 a year "to maintain a gallery in which the valuable collection of pictures offered to the city by Mr. Lane and others might be housed." In 1907 the municipality acquired the private house in Harcourt Street as a temporary gallery, and Sir Hugh Lane formally presented seventy pictures and Rodin's bronze "L'Age d'Airain." He undertook to give a great collection of Continental paintings, which he deposited on loan, "provided that the promised permanent building is erected on a suitable site within the next few years." A crux arose immediately. It was discovered the Corporation had no power to vote any money to maintain the gallery. A short Bill was passed, during 1911 empowering them to strike a halfpenny rate for the purpose. Five years have elapsed since Sir Hugh Lane made his conditions, and the permanent gallery has not been erected. An influential committee has recently been convened by the Lord Mayor and has already collected nearly £10,000. It has decided to build the gallery on a new bridge, spanning the Liffey at, or near, the site at present occupied by the old metal toll bridge, which is a notorious eyesore. But nearly £5,000 more must be found before the pictures are secured. Whatever can be done should be done quickly, for it would be a deep disgrace to Dublin if this collection were lost to the city through public apathy.

Art has been gravely neglected in Ireland for many years. There is only one great painter at present working in the country, and he is wholly underrated by his countrymen. Yet Ireland has always managed to contribute her quota to the ranks of great artists. The London Guildhall Exhibition in 1904 surprised many Irish people by showing them that such men as Messrs. Lavery, C., H. Shannon, Orpen, Mark Fisher, J. J. Shannon, and George Henry were their compatriots. Even in Dublin there are one or two talented and sincere artists who display an originality which deserves more recognition than it has received.

With increased prosperity and a reviving interest in art, a hope arises that Ireland may soon commence to encourage Irish artists to live and work in their own land, to secure that they be fitly rewarded there, and so to create, at last, a noble and individual school of Irish art.

CHAPTER III

THE IRISH LITERARY SPIRIT

"IF the Irish nation is a literary nation, it is a very wonderful nation!" We quote the exclamation from a little book of acute essays on Irish subjects, the author of which, Mr. John Eglinton, had set out to explain why Ireland has failed in literature. That any doubt on the subject should be expressed will surprise many good people, for there is, certainly, a superstition abroad that Ireland is pre-eminently a land of poetry. A land of poetry that has produced no poets—or very few! Your "Celtic idealist," however, who throws scorn on the materialistic ambitions and successes of England needs to be confronted with the fact that the poetry of England is second only to that of Greece. And the rubbish that has been talked about Irish poetical genius should enable the most patriotic Irishman to excuse the irritation which goaded Swinburne on a famous occasion to distinguish the Celt in literature by his capacity for "fever," "fancy," and "mock-mystical babble" and his innocence of "reason," "imagination," and "serious workmanship."

Renan found in primitive Irish literature these Celtic characteristics ("Poetry of the Celtic Races")—"a realistic naturalism, a love of nature for herself, a vivid feeling for her magic commingled with the melancholy a man knows when he is face to face with her, and thinks he hears her communing with him about his origin and his destiny." "The decided leaning of the Celtic race towards the ideal, its sadness, its fidelity, its good faith caused it to be regarded by its neighbours as dull, foolish, and superstitious. They could not understand its delicacy and refined

manner¹ of feeling. . . . Poor Ireland with her ancient mythology, with her Purgatory of St. Patrick and her fantastic travels of St. Brendan, was not destined to find grace in the eyes of English Puritanism. One ought to observe the disdain of English critics for these fables. . . ." Matthew Arnold's views on Celtic literature ("The Study of Celtic Literature") are equally familiar; the English critic agrees with the Breton that the history of the Celtic imagination is "one long lament, it still recalls its exiles, its flights across the seas." The Celtic passion for nature, he adds, is due more to a sense of her mystery than of her beauty; then follows the famous phrase about Celtic imaginativeness and melancholy being alike "a passionate, turbulent, indomitable reaction against the despotism of fact," for the Celt is not melancholy from a perfectly definite motive, but because of something in him, "unaccountable, defiant, and titanic."

We may now understand why the movement from which recent Anglo-Irish poetry has sprung is styled the Celtic Renaissance. And indeed, if there be anything in the argument from race, this movement has confirmed in a remarkable way the diagnosis of Arnold and of Renan. But Normans and Scotsmen and Cromwellians have occupied Celtic Ireland, and it may be but coincidence that the characteristics which Renan and Arnold discerned in the poetry of the Celtic races should have reappeared in the work of living Irishmen who write in English. It will also be allowed that there has been something deliberate in the attempt to recapture the Gaelic spirit. Mr. W. B. Yeats, writing many years ago ("The Celtic Element in Literature"), suggested that his fellow-workers and himself might get helpful guidance in the arguments of Renan and of Arnold. But for his own part Mr. Yeats appears to find that "a thirst for unbounded emotion and a wild melancholy," "the revolt against the despotism of fact," and those other things of which Renan and Arnold spoke are not merely characteristic of primitive Celtic literature, but characteristic of all folk literature and all literature that keeps the folk tradition; and all ancient peoples, he says, delight in tales that end in death and

parting, as modern people delight in tales that end in marriage bells. The Celtic movement, as Mr. Yeats then understood, and perhaps still understands, it was but an opening of the fountain of Gaelic legend, a fountain not less abundant than that of Scandinavian tradition or of Arthurian romance. It would follow then that the note of revolt against fact in Gaelic literature, or in the modern "Irish literary spirit" is not due to race, still less to the political misfortunes of Ireland. But lack of education, absence of the printed book, unsettled conditions have helped through the centuries to preserve in Ireland the folk-imagination and the old way of looking at things.

To many this will seem to be a most reactionary philosophy of Irish literary history; and to refuse to accept it in its entirety is certainly not to convict oneself of an access of English Puritanism. Did not Renan himself advise the Celtic race to "harden itself to an entrance into the world," "to subject its rich and profound nature to the conditions of modern thought?" Literature in Ireland, says the critic quoted in the opening sentence of this article, never took the great questions of life and death into its own hands; the people, in the person of any great reformer or poet, never claimed the right to think. One must assuredly take account of Ireland's rejection of the Reformation. The literary qualities of the Bible have not moulded the Irish mind; and Ireland's literature has never been "serious" in the deepest sense, because it has never greatly interested itself in speculative ideas, or been affected by the great movements of European thought.

A Scotus Erigena, a Bishop Berkeley, are Ireland's notable contributions to philosophy; great names in a list that is lamentably short. There have arisen, again in Irish literary history, certain figures that stand out by sheer force of personality. A Swift, a John Mitchell, have very completely expressed themselves with results that must surprise those who attribute softness and sentimentality to the Irish character. The paradox of the warm-hearted, imaginative Englishman and the cold-blooded, fact-seeing Irishman has perhaps been done to death in recent years; but Larry Doyle in "John Bull's Other Island" is nearer

the Irish type than one of Boucicault's romantic heroes. Mr. Bernard Shaw has illustrated the contrast between Irish and English by Moore and Mr. Kipling: "The Englishman is wholly at the mercy of his imagination, having no sense of reality to check it, the Irishman, with a far subtler and more fastidious imagination, has one eye always on things as they are." It may be that Moore, Lever, Lover, and the Irish novelists of the nineteenth century, who pictured the Irishman as a jolly good fellow (with a tear in the corner of his eye), hospitable, generous, ardent, and full of romantic illusions, were not themselves under any illusions, but knew very well what their public—mainly an English one—wanted. Their insincerity, at all events, is not the insincerity of the sentimentalist. And Irish life, it must be remembered, has changed greatly since the Famine. It was once itself excessively theatrical.

CHAPTER IV

THE MODERN IRISH POETS

It is contended in some quarters that Ireland neither has nor can have a national literature save in the Gaelic. To agree would be to admit that Ireland produced little or no literature of account in the nineteenth century—at least so far as it is yet known—but it is with this period that we are here mainly concerned. The language movement and the theory of the Gaelic League have naturally enough involved Irishmen in a controversy as to what constitutes an “Irish” poet or an “Irish” dramatist, and as to the relation of literature to the life of a nation; but it has been found very difficult to lay down an exact formula. The drama of Synge, for instance, is clearly English literature; is Synge the less an Irish national dramatist? Again, who could write of modern English letters and omit all reference to the so-called Celtic Renaissance, which is, among other things no doubt, a bypath of English literature trodden by many who are not Celtic born? Finally, what of those Irish writers who have never wished to express the life of Ireland, but in whose works Irish characteristics and an Irish point of view are often apparent? Our business must be, briefly, with such Irish writers of English as have derived their inspiration, or a part of it, from Celtic sources, or have sung the historical aspirations of the people, or have had for their main audience their own countrymen.

“During the ‘Augustan’ age of English literature,” says an Irish critic, Mr. John Eglinton, “poems were written in Ireland which have far more in common with later developments of English poetry—with poems, for example, like Shelley’s ‘When the Lamp

is Shattered,' or George Meredith's 'Love in the Valley'—than anything produced by the 'wits' of the London coffee-houses." Whilst the highest claims are made for the "Munster poets" of the eighteenth century, particularly for Owen Roe O'Sullivan, O'Rahilly, and Brian Merriman, author of "The Midnight Court," the poetry written by Irishmen in English during the same period is not great either in quantity or in quality. Turning to a very complete anthology of Anglo-Irish poetry ("The Dublin Book of Irish Verse"), we find that the first name therein is that of Oliver Goldsmith, whose "Deserted Village," though in the Irish Midlands, is surely the exclusive property of English literature. John Philpot Curran wrote swinging verses, but is chiefly remembered as one of the greatest of Anglo-Irish orators, while Thomas Moore leads us into the nineteenth century; then Irish Ireland and Anglo-Ireland exchanged rôles, and the English element, gradually losing its political ascendancy, provided Ireland with most of her writers, patriotic or other.

In the nineteenth century Ireland, whatever else she lacked, did not lack poets; if a great deal of matter that has for sentimental reasons been accepted by the Irish people as poetry is not poetry, none the less Irish-born men have contributed out of proportion to their numbers to the sum total of modern poetic achievement in the English language. English-speaking Ireland had before Mr. Yeats's time found poetic voices, and among nineteenth-century poets who take their place in any anthology of English verse are Thomas Moore, Charles Wolfe, Callanan, George Darley, Arthur O'Shaughnessy, James Clarence Mangan, William Allingham, the de Veres, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and Edward Fitzgerald, all of Irish birth or blood. Of these Edward Fitzgerald, Darley, Wolfe, and O'Shaughnessy may perhaps be excluded from the scope of this survey, but Wolfe passed his life in Ireland, and Darley's rhythm and "glittering phrase" have been described by Mr. T. W. Rolleston in the "Treasury of Irish Verse," as Celtic. None of the four, however, belong to any movement in Anglo-Irish letters. It is, or was, the opinion of Mr. Yeats that an "honest" style was first adopted by English-

speaking Ireland with Callanan (1795-1829), who brought Irish melody into his translations from the Gaelic.

If Thomas Moore is certain of immortality, it is because his words have been fitted so well with music; but few even of those who still insist on his praise now take him down from their bookshelves. That Moore wrote some charming songs, no one is concerned to deny; and, further, it will be admitted that he has in some respects been unhappy in his friends. He has had to contend against that type of adulation which can damage even a Shakespeare, and consists, not in the exposition of a poet's merits, but in evoking the sentimental associations which cling to a name for the purpose of attaching odium to the work of living men whose aim it is to create and not to copy. A similar misfortune has, if in a lesser degree, befallen James Clarence Mangan, who will presently be touched upon as a "Young Ireland" poet. There remain Aubrey de Vere, William Allingham, and Sir Samuel Ferguson. Aubrey de Vere, not the only poet of his family, is in his most happy verse, his sonnets, meditative and Wordsworthian, but his subject is usually Ireland, ancient or modern, whilst at the same time his thought is influenced by the world-wide tradition of the Roman Church. The best work of William Allingham, like de Vere a friend of the great English masters, celebrates the scenery of a home in Donegal; he has been sufficiently summed up by Mr. Yeats as a "poet of the melancholy peasantry of the West" who "will take his place among the minor immortals." Sir Samuel Ferguson is the most considerable epic poet that Anglo-Ireland has produced; his writing, if sometimes heavy, is always accomplished and masculine, and sometimes, as in his description of the "Burial of King Cormac," it touches a note of noble gravity. Ferguson's great labours upon Irish legend associate him with the modern Irish literary movement, which, indeed, as Mr. Stephen Gwynn has excellently said, derives from him in so far as it means a return to the primitive or medieval monuments of the Celtic imagination; but not in so far as it means the adoption of what is transferable in the Gaelic style and technique. Here Mangan is pioneer.

The group of men who tried to found a new national movement on the ruins of the agitation for Repeal, the Young Irelanders, produced a great propagandist literature, if that is not a *contradictio in adjectivo*; but not one of them, with the exception of Mangan, has any claim to a poet's immortality. Further, the "Young Irelanders" not only failed to liberate their country from political dependence upon England, but with the loftiest intentions, actually emphasized its intellectual dependence. John Blake Dillon, Charles Gavan Duffy, D'Arcy Magee, T. F. Meagher, Smith O'Brien, Thomas Davis, and John Mitchell, were, most of them, men of natural literary ability, who, however, looked upon literary work as a means rather than an end, and probably did not mistake, as their public so often did, rhetoric for poetry. Their matter was intensely patriotic and Irish, but seldom their manner; nor were the English influences which, as a rule, dominated their style the best English influences. Any one who is not interested in Ireland will be excused for finding the mass of their writing tedious, notwithstanding its sincerity. An essay or two by Thomas Davis have still some general interest, and John Mitchell's "Jail Journal" is great prose—a book which, while breathing the most passionate hatred of England, never degenerates into oratory, the bane of Young Ireland. Mangan, again, who took little or no part in propaganda and led a disordered life, touches great poetry now and then, especially when he is reproducing the Gaelic cadences as in the "O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire." His "Dark Rosaleen" is the greatest of Irish patriotic poems. At his worst, however, he has all the faults of the literary Nationalists.

The latest Irish or Anglo-Irish poetry has aroused far more interest among lovers of literature outside of Ireland than did the achievement of Young Ireland; it claims at the same time to be more truly Irish in style and spirit than the work of the poets of the "Nation." But admittedly aloof from national politics, and therefore less topical, it is popular in Ireland only with those who care for poetry for its own sake. Of the modern Irish literary movement, sometimes styled the Celtic Renaissance, perhaps the most necessary

remark to be made is that it is now in process of disintegration. Let us not be misunderstood. The movement as a movement has done good work; the writers associated with it are not at the ends of their literary careers; nor does Ireland cease to produce new authors and poets. But the Celtic note is falling into disuse, and one no longer discerns a common aim in Irish literary activities. An episode is over, and Mr. George Moore writes its history—and with much insight—in a “Hail and Farewell” to Ireland. More significant again is Mr. Yeats’s last volume of poems, “The Green Helmet,” in which the supposed leader of the school definitely emerges out of the Celtic twilight and spirituality of his earlier and best-known lyrics (“The Lake Isle of Innisfree,” for example) and calls down wrath upon his pupils. Synge wrote in the preface to the *Playboy* that he had wished to put upon the stage both reality and joy, and so keep close to the profound and common interests of life; and he bids adieu in one of his poems to “Sweet Aengus, Maeve, and Fand,” and the “plumed yet skinny Shee” in order to “stretch in red Dan Sally’s ditch” and “drink in Tubber fair.” As for Mr. Yeats himself it is, of course, doubtful if he has got down to the market-places, or ever will get down, or found the audience of “vigorous and simple men,” whose attention was not given to the arts but who yet would be moved by the arts so long as they shared the “intensity of personal life” that he asked for in the elaborate argument of “Discoveries,” the conclusion of which is essentially the same as that of Synge’s famous three-page preface. It will seem to most persons that Mr. Yeats is as remote as ever from ordinary interests.

Mr. George Russell (“Æ”) shares with Mr. Yeats, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and Mr. Standish O’Grady the right to be considered among the prophets of the Irish literary revival. Those who are acquainted with his three memorable volumes of verse regret the present devotion of his pen to the propaganda of agricultural co-operation. Ireland was the adopted country of the late Lionel Johnson, whose authentic voice and gift of writing for the occasion might have made him, had he lived, the laureate of the movement. It may not flatter Dr. Hyde, the President of the Gaelic League,

to be numbered among Anglo-Irish poets; nevertheless, many Anglo-Irish poets have been influenced by his translation of the "Love Songs of Connacht." The Catholic anthologies have perhaps the first claim to the charming poetry of Miss Tynan. Miss Dora Sigerson's work is often Irish in inspiration, 'as it is natural that the work of the daughter of the distinguished Irish translator, Dr. Sigerson, should be; Moira O'Neill catches the spirit of the Antrim glens at its simplest; Miss Jane Barlow is an isolated but an important figure in modern Anglo-Irish literature. Mr. James Stephens discloses in the "Hill of Vision" a vitality and a curiosity about life that have been often lacking in Anglo-Irish verse. Mr. Seumas O'Sullivan's delicate lyrics are typical of the "Celtic" school, and Mr. John Todhunter, who belongs to an earlier generation, has a notable Irish achievement to his credit. In his own field the supremacy of Mr. A. P. Graves, author of "Father O'Flynn" and other rollicking songs, has not been challenged; nor does any Irish writer compete with the Hon. Emily Lawless as singer of the fighting tradition of the race. Mr. Padraic Colum is the poet of the Midland peasants besides their playwright; the patriotism of Miss Alice Milligan's verse is fiery and tender; the work of Mr. J. H. Cousins is graceful and often distinguished. Finally, should we refer to the fine achievement of Professor Edward Dowden, which, if not Irish in the broad or the narrow sense, has associated Ireland for a generation with the culture of Europe?

CHAPTER V

THE ABBEY THEATRE

IN May, 1899, some plays of Irish life were performed in Dublin by English actors, and this date is usually given as that of the beginning of the Irish dramatic movement. We find that a year later, and again in the autumn of 1901, the same experiment was repeated at one of the large Dublin theatres. The movement had not yet been properly organized, but the Irish Literary Theatre, a society of which Lady Gregory, Mr. Edward Martyn, Mr. Yeats, and Mr. George Moore were leading members, with the work of Mr. W. G. Fay and Mr. F. Fay, Irish actors of some experience who had an Irish amateur company of their own, and the literary activity of certain branches of the Gaelic League, all contributed to laying the foundations. Mr. W. B. Yeats wrote in the record "Samhain" for 1901 that the Irish people had reached that "precise stage of their history when imagination shaped by many stirring events desires dramatic expression." There were, we learn again from "Samhain," two alternative policies under consideration. On the one hand, it was suggested that a small stock company should be selected, and trained by experts, and that the Corporation of Dublin and other Irish public bodies should be asked to furnish material help in the way of the occasional loan of a hall, of lighting and attendance, and towards the establishment of an Irish school of acting. On the other hand, it was held that any form of subsidy would compromise the freedom of the movement (prevent it, for instance, from touching upon politics), and that what plays were written should be given to

Mr. Fay's company, or, failing Mr. Fay, to such English travelling companies as might be interested.

The last performances given under the auspices of the Irish Literary Theatre were those in the autumn of 1901. Mr. Benson came to Dublin and played *Diarmuid and Grania*, a version of the famous Irish legend done by Mr. George Moore and Mr. W. B. Yeats in collaboration; and a play in Irish by Dr. Douglas Hyde was acted by the author and other members of the Gaelic League. The company known as the National Dramatic Company, stage-managed by Mr. W. G. Fay, had the credit of producing *Deirdre*, by "Æ" (Mr. George Russell), and Mr. Yeats's patriotic play *Kathleen-ni-Houlihan*, and we had a first glimpse of that style of acting which is now a heritage of the Abbey Theatre and has been appreciated in two continents.

As a result of these successes the members of Mr. Fay's company, in conjunction with some young Dublin writers, formed the Irish National Theatre Society, elected Mr. Yeats as their president, took a small hall which was used for rehearsals, and gave several performances, including the first productions of Synge's earliest plays, *Riders to the Sea*, and *In the Shadow of the Glen*.

In 1904 Miss Horniman presented the society with the use of a repaired Dublin theatre, the Mechanics' Institute. "Having been given the free use of this theatre," wrote Mr. Yeats in "Samhain," "we may look upon ourselves as the first endowed theatre in any English-speaking country, the English-speaking countries and Venezuela being the only countries which have never endowed their theatres." Miss Horniman was interested in Mr. Yeats's ideas on the drama as expressed in "Samhain" and elsewhere, and these ideas may be said to have been henceforth more or less dominant in the Irish dramatic movement. The new house was opened on December 27, 1904, and Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen*, Mr. Yeats's *On Baile's Strand*, and Lady Gregory's *Spreading the News* were appreciated by a large audience. In 1905 the chief event of the season was the production of Synge's *Well of the Saints*; in 1906 Mr. Yeats had ready his version of the *Deirdre* legend; Mr. Colum

wrote *The Land*; and Mr. William Boyle *The Building Fund*. In December, 1905, the National Theatre Society was formed into a limited company; but the playwrights still gave their work for nothing.

Some hard years lay before the directors, Mr. Yeats, Synge, and Lady Gregory, and many unexpected obstacles were only surmounted by a great deal of self-sacrifice on their part and on that of the company and of Miss Horniman. The work did not attract the general theatre-going public, and certain of the plays, particularly Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* and his *Well of the Saints*, which were regarded by some Irishmen as false to Irish life, detached sympathy from the movement; much energy was wasted in an attempt to define the rôle of a National Theatre; and an amount of vigorous dramatic writing, not merely, if mainly, topical and political, both in Gaelic and English, never found its way to Abbey Street. (It is only just to refer here to the dramatic work of various Gaelic societies and of the Ulster Literary Theatre.) The Abbey had, said the directors, no propaganda but that of good art. The statement was received with alarm both by the Nationalists and the Unionists who were interested.

The year 1907 was the turning point. On January 26 J. M. Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* was produced with Mr. W. G. Fay in the title rôle. The writer witnessed the great demonstration of hostility against Synge's famous picture of Irish peasant life. Differences of opinion still exist as to whether the protest was contemplated and deliberately organized, or whether it was a spontaneous expression of feeling. On the whole, however, the episode did the theatre more good than harm, and the directors were well advised, from the practical as well as from other points of view, to keep *The Playboy of the Western World* in the repertory and not bend to the storm. The enterprise had come into the limelight. The man in the street who had hitherto only vaguely heard of the new Irish drama, and probably supposed it to be either quite below his notice or quite above his head, all Boucicault or all Maeterlinck, or perhaps an unnatural combination of both—Robert Emmet in the Celtic twilight—went to the

"Abbey" out of curiosity, and if he did not like Synge's peasants, did not therefore refuse to watch Lady Gregory's. On the other hand, the theatre did lose a particular audience which it took some time to recover. Many Nationalists, of course, admire *The Playboy*; but it is an unorthodoxy; and ever since the production in 1907 the theatre has found it difficult to get a "good Press" in Dublin.

The story of *The Playboy* riots spread far and wide, and when the National Theatre Society next betook itself to England with its repertory, it received more attention than ever from the London critics, most of whom were inclined to put Synge's work among the masterpieces of the modern drama. This Irish enterprise, had already had generous appreciation on this side of the Channel. When the movement was still in its infancy and the performances in London took place in no regular theatre, the critic in *The Times* had commended it—to quote from "Samhain," "in subtle and eloquent words," and his had not been a solitary voice. But now for the first time the Abbey company was able to count upon the support of a good section of the theatre-going public outside the Irish, and each season it could make a longer stay in London. Some of the London Irish objected to *The Playboy* in the most emphatic manner; but gradually it became the custom of the protestors to stay away when this "libellous" piece was on the programme. In the United States last year, however, the old scenes were re-enacted, the company being more than once put under arrest at the instance of Irish-American citizens who held that Synge's work was immoral. The discomfort does not seem to have afflicted the players, who this year have paid a second visit to America. Nor should it be assumed that the prosecutors and persecutors of this play, whether in London, Dublin, or Boston, have behind them the authority of Irish opinion. We do not mean that Synge is popular among Irishmen, but that he has many Irish admirers.

Among the other main events in the latter history of the Abbey Theatre should be mentioned the death of Synge (1909), the withdrawal of Miss Horniman from the enterprise (after long and generous support), and its re-organization on a new footing, the production of

Mr. Shaw's *The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet*, censored in London, and the appearance of a number of new Irish dramatists. Both the players and the playwrights are now paid, and a School of Irish Acting has been established. The theatre prospers financially, thanks, in the first place, to Miss Horniman, who sold out her interest on very generous terms; and, secondly, to the guarantors who came forward a few years ago and gave the venture a fresh start. The production of *The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet* and its success in Dublin have some historical interest. The Censor's writ does not run in Dublin, but the move was a defiant one; however, it did not kill the English Censorship, as one of the directors is reported to have promised that it would do.

In the beginning the young Dublin playwrights were chiefly interested in Gaelic Ireland on the one hand, and in the heroic traditions of the Celt on the other; hence one might seldom see in their plays any one less than a King or Queen, if it were not a simple peasant. They wished to create a feeling for fine language, and believed with Mr. Yeats that one could not put fine language into the mouths of the educated or semi-educated people of a modern play. The practice of the Irish Theatre has, however, been broader than its theory. Irish middle and upper class life were never entirely neglected by the new drama, and of late they have had their fair share of attention. Mr. Edward Martyn's *The Heather Field*, one of the earliest products of the literary revival, a play of landlord life, met with high appreciation; and types of the little bourgeois like the town councillor in Mr. Boyle's skit on Irish local politics, *The Eloquent Dempsey*, if lacking in the universal significance with which Lady Gregory and Synge invest their peasants, or Mr. Yeats invests his Kings and Queens, had later on the representation they deserved.

The most discussed of modern playwrights have been two Irishmen, Mr. Shaw and Synge. Now all Synge's plays are on Irish subjects, and belong to the Abbey Theatre, whereas Mr. Shaw, so far as one knows, has only written one Irish play. *John Bull's Other Island* was offered to, but not used by, Mr. Yeats owing to a difficulty about the cast. As the

author of so able a criticism of Irish life it is proper to refer to Mr. Shaw in this article; but we should be more concerned with Synge, who did not leave Ireland, but returned to it in order to accomplish his work. Synge was born in 1871. He passed his boyhood in Ireland, and was educated at Trinity College. Mr. Yeats met him in Paris, and by some extraordinary instinct of prophecy recommended him to make a sojourn in the Aran Islands and write plays for an Irish theatre. Synge's subsequent life is written by himself in his travel book, "The Aran Islands" and in his papers on Wicklow and Kerry. It was all too short, for he died in 1909 whilst still engaged on the revision of the third of his more important plays, *Deirdre*. Besides his three-act plays, *The Well of the Saints*, *The Playboy of the Western World*, and *Deirdre of the Sorrows*, Synge wrote two plays in one act, *In the Shadow of the Glen* and *Riders to the Sea*, two books of travel, and a few interesting poems. Few things in the circumstances of modern literature have been more remarkable than the growth of his posthumous fame.

The most prominent of the other Abbey Theatre dramatists have been Lady Gregory and Mr. Yeats. Lady Gregory has had this merit over her companions—that her pen is quite prolific; her work was the stand-by of the movement during years that would have otherwise been lean enough. Each year since 1904 has given the Irish Theatre at least one new play. Moreover, her comedies have relieved the sometimes too sombre atmosphere of the Abbey Theatre. Nor has she confined herself altogether to the cult of the Kiltartan peasantry. It was well said in reference to *Kincora* and *The White Cockade* that Lady Gregory has shown it to be possible to put history on the stage; moreover, most, if not all, of the translations of foreign masterpieces into the language of the Abbey Theatre have been by her hand. Mr. Yeats's dramatic version of the legend of *Deirdre* is the most important piece of work he has done for the Abbey Theatre, but success has attended the revival of his earlier work, *The Countess Cathleen*, *Kathleen-ni-Houlihan*, and *The Land of Heart's Desire*. Mr. Norreys Connell, Mr. William Boyle, and Mr. Padraic Colum, who have been long

associated with the Abbey Theatre, are all capable dramatists. Among the principal newcomers are Mr. T. C. Murray, Mr. St. John G. Ervine, and Mr. Lennox Robinson. Outsiders who have contributed to the repertory include Mr. Wilfrid Blunt and Mr. George Bernard Shaw.

Irish drama, it may well be hoped, has come to stay. So far, no doubt, the Irish dramatic movement owes a great deal of its fame to the fact that it produced a Synge. But over and above Synge, over and above the other talented writers thus brought before the public, and the importance of the Abbey Theatre's success as a non-commercial theatre in revolt against convention, over and above the interesting experiments in stage-craft, in stage scenery, and lighting, of a new art of the actor, of the revivals of mystery plays and the like with which we associate Mr. Yeats, Mr. Gordon Craig, Mr. Robert Gregory, and Mr. Nugent Monck—over and above all these things, the achievement has been a national achievement.

CHAPTER VI

THE GAELIC LEAGUE

SOMEWHERE in the year 1893 a small knot of men hired an upper room in College Green and painted over the door the name of the Gaelic League. This was the first beginning of an organization which to-day claims over 1,200 branches, spreading all over Ireland, and as far as California and Australia. No one at the time dreamed of its surprising success. Its founders had no prestige or influence. Their leader, Douglas Hyde, had graduated in Trinity College, and enjoyed a certain reputation as a brilliant young man with a taste for curious knowledge and a gift of ready speech. His friends heard with amusement of his scheme for resuscitating the Irish language. The enterprise would languish for a year or two and then be heard of no more. Other attempts had been made before to interest the Irish people in their ancient language and literature. There was the old Gaelic Society of 1808; there was the Ossianic Society of 1853; there was the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, alive, but unregarded; there was the Gaelic Union, the immediate predecessor of the Gaelic League. But none of these had taken any hold on the public mind. They had done something to keep the literary tradition from utter extinction, but they had done absolutely nothing towards arresting the decay of the living language, which was receding more rapidly every decade to the shores of the Atlantic. The peasants who still spoke Irish had no pride in their mother-tongue. Their chosen leaders, with few exceptions, looked on it as an impediment to national progress; educated people in general regarded it with indifference or dislike.

. Yet in a few years the new League had fairly struck root, and once established it grew and spread like wild-fire. Within ten years it had become one of the strongest forces in Irish life; it had awakened popular enthusiasm; it was attracting the ablest men among the younger Catholics, and not a few of the more liberal Protestants; it began to seem possible that the Irish language might after all be raised up from its deathbed. This sudden development is not altogether easy to explain. The immediate cause lies no doubt in the personality of Dr. Hyde. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the enthusiasm which he knew so well how to stir and direct is simply an emanation of his genius. One must take account of certain changes which have gradually come about in the social and intellectual conditions of the country.

The Catholic and Celtic part of Ireland has been gaining steadily in material prosperity during the last forty years. The land revolution has relieved the pressure of actual want and given freer play to mind and soul. Education remains sadly deficient, but the Irish Celt has always shown himself ready to make the most of such opportunities as he has been allowed. The intermediate system with its machinery of examinations is hardly calculated to produce a liberal culture, yet it has imparted a powerful stimulus to the Catholic schools. The young men whom they turn out are no longer satisfied to pass their lives working on the land. They desert the country for the town; they prefer to be clerks, civil servants, schoolmasters, journalists, rather than farmers or curates. This tendency is not an unmixed blessing for the country, but it helps to explain the rise of the Gaelic League, as well as of the rival movement which has Mr. Yeats for its leader. The class thus created inherits the traditional feelings of the Irish peasant, it shares in his profound racial consciousness and his antipathy to the English intruder. What is more, these men have read the history of their country—presented naturally from the Celtic point of view—and their reading, while it sharpens their resentment against England, teaches them that Ireland has a past of her own in which they can feel legitimate pride.

It was to this double sentiment that Dr. Hyde appealed. He called upon his countrymen to "de-anglicize" themselves, to reject English ideas, English habits, English influences of all kinds, and in all ways to assert the separate individuality of Ireland. And he insisted that the focal centre of Irish national life lay in the ancient language. The restoration of the language was his immediate objective, but it was important not as an end in itself but because it lay on the road to the national goal.

He thus put the matter on a ground which the older language societies had scrupulously avoided. His idea supplied a nucleus round which gathered the body of national sentiment which had become detached from the land. It is true that the League has always insisted that its activity is non-political. This is perfectly true in the sense that it does not directly interfere in party politics, and it is wholly absurd to pretend that it is hand in glove with organizations like the Clan-na-Gael. But as Dr. Hyde has himself declared, its tendencies are in a deeper sense political. A movement which aims at strengthening and concentrating the sense of racial individuality is of necessity political, even though it does not employ the Parliamentary machine. The ultimate aims of the Gaelic League are not widely different from those of other Celtic movements. Each seeks in its own way to vindicate the separate nationhood of Ireland. Each finds its support in much the same element of the Irish people. Each in the end brings us back to that conflict of races which lies at the bottom of all Irish questions. Even more decisively than the others the language movement lays bare this ultimate antagonism. The sentiment which it evokes or confirms has its positive and its negative pole. If it draws the Celts together and appeals to purely Celtic patriotism, it also tends to perpetuate the repulsion from England, it reinvigorates the old hostility to all institutions and habits of English origin, it deepens the old division between the native and the settler.

However earnestly the League proclaims itself non-sectarian and non-political, the fact remains that the vast majority of Protestants look upon its propaganda with a bitter dislike. The challenge of the League

wakens in the Irish Protestant the consciousness of his Anglo-Saxon descent. He feels that he is called on to take pride in a past which does not belong to him. He is as unwilling as any Englishman to change his habits or his language. He does not wish to call himself Mac ant Saoir instead of Smith, or MacRobhartaigh for Robinson. There are indeed, as there always have been, some few Protestants of the upper classes who are attracted to the language either by intellectual curiosity or by a mere generous sympathy with this relic of an ancient civilization. There are also young men of romantic disposition, usually English by birth or education, who find in Gaelic Ireland a piquant contrast to the formal traditions of the English public school. Their dilettante propensions are gratified by the novel surroundings, the strange language, the absence of social restraint, the simpler mode of life. Some find it amusing to disguise themselves in the costume of medieval Ireland. At the Oireachtas, the yearly gatherings of the League, one may see an occasional figure parading Dublin streets attired in the cloak and saffron kilt of the thirteenth century, and protected from the uncertainties of the Irish climate by a neat silk umbrella. Such an individual will very likely wear an Irish name as part of the make-up; but inquire into his origin, and you will find him a product of Oxford or London.

These are the light humours of the movement, but the genuine Leaguer is grave and earnest. He is apt to be even fierce in his enthusiasm and exceedingly intolerant of criticism or opposition. The temper of the League is ardent and aggressive; combat is the breath of its life. Its first attack was delivered against Trinity College. Professor Atkinson (one of the best Celtic scholars of his day) had given evidence before a Royal Commission in 1901 disparaging the value of medieval Irish literature, and Dr. Mahaffy had been still more contemptuous. Dr. Hyde at once stood out as the champion of the national culture, and led a furious onslaught upon Trinity College with all its ways and works. Catholic Ireland suddenly awoke to the beauties of Gaelic literature, in which it had until then taken a very languid interest. This campaign made the fortune of the League, and zeal

for the propaganda came to be accepted as a mark of sound patriotism.

A few years later another challenger gave the League another opportunity. Mr. Wyndham, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, had been extremely friendly to the Gaelic cause. Perhaps it touched his intellectual and sentimental sympathies; perhaps he thought that the political agitation would be eased if Nationalist sentiment were diverted into another channel. At all events, he showed the League a friendly countenance, and fed the study of Irish with large grants to the National schools. His successor, Mr. Long, at once reversed his predecessor's policy, withdrawing the special grants for the teaching of Irish. A storm immediately arose. The League appealed to the Irish people to defend their native language from the tyranny of a bigoted bureaucrat. About the same time the police, acting presumably on instructions, instituted prosecutions against certain persons who refused to desecrate their donkey-carts with names spelled in English characters. Alderman Cole, who insisted on writing himself *Ua Cumhaill* in Irish letters, was fined for the offence; he refused to pay the fine, and the sheriff distrained upon his onions and apples. The contumacious alderman at once became a popular hero. Those were glorious days.

In the absence of other opponents the Boards of National and Intermediate Education served as a standing target. The League has always attached great importance to getting a hold on the schools, and has carried on constant warfare against the Boards in order to gain its point. In all essentials it has had its way, so far at least as the primary schools are concerned. Irish history is now an obligatory part of their curriculum, and the language is taught both in ordinary school hours and as an extra subject; in the latter case a special grant is paid, liberal enough to make a substantial addition to the teacher's salary. This financial inducement is supplemented by the strongest pressure the League can bring to bear on individual school-managers. The effect of these methods may be judged from a few figures. Before 1900, while the League was still fighting for recognition, special fees were paid at a low

rate, and the number of schools where Irish was taught varied from 50 to 100. In 1901 the scale of the fees was raised, and the number of schools rose suddenly to 1,198. It continued to rise steadily (in spite of the withdrawal of fees during the year 1906) until in 1908 it reached 3,047. Since then it has perceptibly declined; in 1911 the number was 2,576.

It is not safe, however, to take these figures and other statistics as to the spread of the language quite at their face value. There is no question as to the vitality of the League or its influence on public life; but it is hard to estimate how much it has really done towards restoring the language as a spoken tongue. Setting aside those who do mere lip-service to the cause, there are many quite genuine enthusiasts who never succeeded in gaining any real knowledge of the language, which is one of the most difficult in Europe to any one who is not to the manner born. The very multitude of would-be learners is an embarrassment, and scholars complain that the purity of the idiom is threatened by the vast number of students who talk a broken Irish disfigured by English turns of speech. The hope of rescuing the language rests finally with those districts where Irish is still the mother-tongue. Unfortunately it is just in such places that the propaganda is least in favour. The peasants, who have little or no English themselves, are above all things anxious that their children should be taught English. They take a matter-of-fact view: they see no practical advantage in knowing Irish, and it is too familiar a possession to have for them the romantic attraction which it exercises over the better-educated townsman.

The net result is that, in spite of the apparent success of the League, the Census shows a decrease in the number of Irish speakers between 1901 and 1911. And in the last two or three years there have been symptoms of failing energy in the movement. There is a feeling abroad that the tide is slackening. Even the leaders admit a temporary check. Occasional notes of discord indicate a want of perfect harmony in their councils. The more ardent spirits call for a fighting policy to rally the faint-hearted. The difficulty is to find an enemy who will be obliging enough to trail his coat. If Mr. Ian Malcolm could be made

Chief Secretary, and would proceed to repress the League as seditious, its fortunes would spring up again like fire. But Mr. Birrell is suave and sympathetic and the Education Boards will not show fight. The last battle in which the League was engaged arose over the question of compulsory Irish at the National University. The League conquered, but it was a Pyrrhic victory. Its chief opponents on this occasion were the Roman Catholic Bishops, and it was unfortunate that the conflict should reveal a want of harmony between the League and the Church of Rome. The relations between the two powers had never been entirely cordial, though it was the interest of both to conceal their differences. Not that the League is anti-clerical in spirit, but the traditional policy of the Church had in former days been to discountenance the language. Things have changed no doubt in the last twenty years. The Church has taken the popular side. Maynooth studies Irish with ardour, and has produced some of the best among the younger Celtic scholars. Yet many of the older priests are silently opposed to the movement, and they are in a position to place obstacles in the way. In matters of high policy Rome cannot forget her natural cosmopolitanism. The Church has had to accept an initial defeat in the National University, but it remains to be seen whether the policy of compulsory Irish can be made really effective with university students.

In primary education also the League is threatening to employ compulsion. Dr. Hyde has publicly hinted that National schoolmasters who cannot teach Irish will have to be removed. His words were used in regard to districts where Irish is the common language, but some zealots go further and demand that a knowledge of Irish should be required in all National schools. This was a menace to existing teachers, who rose up in arms at the suggestion.

The truth is that the League finds itself on the horns of a dilemma. The experience of the last ten years seems to show that its propaganda is not in itself sufficient to stem the advancing tide of English influence. Left free to choose, the nation will praise the Gaelic language but will continue to talk English. The only alternative is to force the language upon the

nation by making it obligatory at school and college and by imposing it as a necessary condition of all public appointments. This is the policy which the forward party is now advocating. It has its dangers for the cause. Compulsion is an awkward weapon to employ. The League's early successes were gained by an appeal for freedom. Spontaneous enthusiasm was its strength. To resort to compulsion is to provoke the question whether a movement which has to rely on monetary rewards and drastic regulations is really sure of its hold on popular support. Compulsion has already generated abuses under the show of devotion to the language. The Birrell Act of 1908 gave the county councils power to strike a rate for the purpose of providing university scholarships. Parliament, of course, intended that these scholarships should be tenable at any one of the three Irish universities. But in almost all counties where Catholics are in a majority the councils have imposed the condition that the scholar must attend a university where the Irish language is made essential. This limits the scholarships to the National University, which is by the nature of its constitution preponderantly Roman Catholic. Thus the language shibboleth is, to all intents and purposes, made to serve as a religious test; and in Ireland a religious test is virtually a political test as well. It is obvious that the same procedure may be extended to all public appointments. Nothing could be better calculated to alienate Protestant sympathies from the cause of the language.

The true work of the League lies in the social regeneration of the country. In this sphere its influence has been entirely admirable. It has quickened the stagnant life of the country people and roused their intellectual interests. It has given them a pride not only in their language but in their surroundings and local history. It has taught them the significance of names, the value of old customs. It has been a tonic to their moral fibre. Wherever a branch of the League is established it is an active foe to drunkenness and the other vices that apathy and vacuity engender. These it attacks in the right way by creating healthy amusements. Besides the great yearly gathering at the Dublin Oireachtas, innumer-

able local entertainments are organized, *ceilidhi* and *feiseanna*. The old dances are revived, old tunes are heard again, old stories rescued from oblivion. It may be that the national life of former days will yet spring again from the almost dying trunk; it may be that the dream of making the Gaelic tongue once more the common speech will yet come true. All things are possible to those that believe. But if not, if the language is doomed to perish, it is something to have stayed even for an hour the hand of Time, who gathers to himself in due season every ancient civilization and silences one by one all the tongues that are spoken upon earth.

CHAPTER VII

IRISH FOLKLORE AND OLD CUSTOMS'

IT would be an error to assume that the popular tradition in Ireland has had no literary origins and no literary influences. There was never a time when scholarship and literary culture were out of reach of the peasants. Wars and confiscations brought to their firesides the poet, the historian, and the musician who had been protected by the Gaelic or Norman-Irish nobles. The music that is played in the cottage or by the roadway to-day belongs to an ancient and highly cultivated art, and the Munster peasant who remembers his O'Rahilly or Eoghan Ruadh (Owen Roe) O'Sullivan is in possession of a poetry comparable to Swinburne's for riches of language and elaboration of metre. It is not too much to say that there was in nearly every hamlet down to the year 1847 some one who collected manuscripts, wrote down poetry and prose-romances, with fragments of history and grammar and Latin prose and verse. One instance will suffice to show how vital was the tradition of scholarship amongst the Irish peasantry. Eugene O'Curry was spoken of by Matthew Arnold as a giant amongst scholars. He laid the foundation of Irish historical research with his great volumes "The Manuscript Materials for Irish History" and "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish." Where did this man, who was a farm-hand and afterwards an assistant in a lunatic asylum, obtain his knowledge and his training? His father, who was a small farmer in county Clare, belonged to a family of hereditary scholars, and his house and the houses of other peasants who had preserved the tradition were O'Curry's university. An instance of literary culture

in a peasant's house of to-day rises to the mind of the writer. In a Kerry village there is a very small farmer who is returned in the Census as illiterate. This man the other day dictated to his daughter, from the Irish version of the *Iliad*, twenty-four pages of her exercise-book.

In the mind of the Irish-speaker the bulk of the imaginative furniture is religious or semi-religious. Had the form been shown them the Irish people might have produced a remarkable religious drama. We can show the dramatic quality of their religious conceptions by quoting from one of the poems given in Dr. Hyde's great collection, "The Religious Songs of Connacht":

They dragged him off captive
And they left her tears flowing
(Ochone agus Ochone O !)
But the Virgin pursued them
Through the wilderness going
(Ochone agus Ochone O !).

"Oh who is yon woman?
Through the waste comes another"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !)
"If there comes a woman
It is surely my mother"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !).

When the Virgin had heard him
And his sorrowful saying
(Ochone agus Ochone O !)
She sprang past his keepers
To the Tree of his slaying
(Ochone agus Ochone O !).

"What fine man hangs there
In the dust and the smother"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !)
"And do you not know him?
He is your son, O mother"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !).

"Oh, is that the child whom
I bore in this bosom?"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !)
"Or is that the child who
Was Mary's fresh blossom?"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !).

They cast him down from them,
A mass of limbs bleeding
(Ochone agus Ochone O !)
"There now he is for you
Now go and be keening!"
(Ochone agus Ochone O !).

In an Irish-speaking household the elders would know the religious poem to be repeated upon rising, upon hearing the birds sing in the morning, upon going on a journey, upon raking the fire at night, and upon lying down in bed. They would have stories about St. Patrick, St. Bridget, St. Columcille, about the Blessed Virgin and the Redeemer. They would have religious charms for a woman in child-bed, charms against the evil-eye, against trembling, against fever.¹

The Irish peasantry know of two invisible worlds—the world of God and the Saints and the world of the *Sidhe* (pronounced Shee) or Fairies. The Celts of Ireland have always believed in an imperishable world that can be seen with the eyes of the seer or entered by a mortal who is specially favoured. Cormac, the High King of Ireland, once entered it. He saw its palaces of bronze and its houses of silver thatched with the white wings of birds, and he saw bathing in a fountain "the loveliest of the world's women." Dunlang O'Hartigan came to the Irish muster in 1014 and was reproached by Murrough, the son of King Brian, for his delay in joining the forces that were to overthrow the Norse at the battle of Clontarf. "Alas, O King," he said, "the delight which I have abandoned for thee is greater, if thou did'st but know it, namely, life without death, without cold, without thirst, without hunger, without decay, beyond any delight of the delights of the earth, and heaven after judgment; and if I had not pledged my word to thee I would not have come here." But Murrough himself had made the same renunciation. "Often," said the son of Brian, "was I offered in the hills and in fairy mansions this world (the fairy world)

¹ The Gaels of Scotland have a like body of religious poetry, prayers, and charms. In it, too, there are reflections from the old Pagan world. Carmichael's "*Carmina Gadelica*" is a beautiful collection of Scotch-Gaelic religious poetry.

and these gifts, but I have never abandoned for one night my country nor mine inheritance."

Caelte, the companion of Finn, was with Saint Patrick when a woman spoke to him. The Saint wondered to see one so youthful and one so ancient talking as if they were contemporaries. "Which is no wonder at all," said Caelte, "for no people of one generation or of one time are we: she is of the Tuatha De Danaan, who are unfading and whose duration is perennial, and I am of the sons of Milisius that are perishable and fade away."

The popular tradition of to-day is in agreement with the visions alluded to in the literature of a thousand years ago. The people speak of a world in which everything is unbroken and unfading. A woman known to the friend of the writer tells that she was once in the fairy-world. She described it as being "filled with light" and having people that were nobly formed and beautiful. The neighbours said that the woman was away for a day and a half. It was famine time, and she went into a cave to gather dulse, and it is likely that she fell into a swoon. Another woman told that she was watching a hurling match when a stranger came and said to her, "You think that a fine sight, but I can show you a sight that is finer." Thereupon he gave the woman a ring, and when she looked through it she saw the fairy hurlers. "I never thought anything grand after that," she said. The fairies of the Irish tradition are not all the diminutive beings of the English stories. As they were described in the old Irish poem translated by Kuno Meyer they exist to-day in the imagination of the people:

No wonder though their strength be great,
Sons of Queens and Kings are one and all;
On their heads are
Beautiful golden-yellow manes.

With smooth comely bodies,
With bright, blue-starred eyes,
With pure crystal teeth,
With thin red lips.

Caelte was right when he described these unfading beings as belonging to the Tuatha De Danaan—that

is, to the gods of the ancient Celts. But Saint Patrick's theology prevailed, and the *Sidhe* had to forgo their divine name. It was necessary to give them a high origin, and so they have been made part of the angelic host. When God cleared Heaven of the angels He held his hand at the entreaty of Gabriel. Then He said, "Let those who are in Heaven remain in Heaven, let those who are in Hell remain in Hell, and let those who are between Heaven and Hell remain in the air." Those who remained between Heaven and Hell are the *Sidhe*. God and the blessed Virgin are invoked in the charms against them :

O Son of God ! Dost thou hear that confused noise now [coming]
towards us

Loudly in the Glen ?

I hear, O Mother. Let there be no fear on you.

May the Blessed Father save us.

May it be a firm fortress, the fortress in which we are.

May they be a blind host, this host that is coming towards
us.

O Jesus Christ, O Glorious Virgin,

Who seest our harm and our hurt,

May'st thou spread thy blessed cowl across us. Amen.

The fairies often steal away handsome children and newly married women. Sometimes they force a good fiddler or a good piper to join their company. The Leprechaun and the Banshee are on this side of the fairy world. The Leprechaun is their artisan, and he knows where sundry crocks of gold are hidden. Those who get sight of him should capture him and keep their eyes upon him until the gold is opened up. But the Leprechaun is very adroit, and generally he can distract the mind of his captor. Then he is away in a moment. The Banshee is mourner to the families of the Milisian race. Before death she is to be heard wailing, and sometimes she is to be seen drawing a comb through her hair.

The stories told round the peat-fires are as remote as these fairy-beliefs. The youth who has on his breast the stars that denote the son of a King puts on his boat fastenings for a year and a day and goes into a strange country in quest of adventures. He fights with a champion who turns out to be his brother, and is given the daughter of the King of Greece. His

bride strikes him with a rod and puts him under enchantments. Then he is cursed by a cat and given three tasks to perform. The ragged man who accompanies him assumes a proper form, and the son of the King of Ireland sees his bride again. He has to choose her from amongst twelve beautiful women that have each her likeness. Then they go to his boat, and they lift the sails, "the red sails, the green sails, the spotted sails, and the speckled sails." They row and they row until "the seals, whales, crawling, creeping things, little beasts of the sea with red mouths rise on the sole and palm of the oar, making fairy music and melody for themselves, until the sea rises in strong waves, hushed with magic, hushed with wondrous voices"; and "with greatness and beauty the ship was sailing until they came into the Harbour of Benn Edar." Then they spend a third of the night in feasting, a third in music and conversation, a third in slumber soft and pleasant. "They found the ford and I found the stepping-stones; they were drowned and I came safe."

This is the type of the wonder-story that is known in the Irish-speaking and English-speaking parts of the country. There is a cycle of stories peculiar to Ireland and Gaelic Scotland—the Ossianic or Fenian stories. They concern Finn MacCumhal and his companions, Ossian, Oscar, Goll, and Dermot. These are the heroes who are celebrated in the Ossianic poetry, which was a literary possession of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland.¹ In the West of Ireland to-day a shanachie will take three-quarters of an hour to the recital of a Fenian tale. But the Ossianic cycle is becoming shapeless. Another story-teller will say: "I can tell you a story about Finn MacCumhal and Brigham Young." In the English-speaking parts scraps and anecdotes are all that remain from this famous cycle. The tales told in English are like those given in Kennedy's and Crofton Croker's collections, or Miss Hunt's "Folk Tales of Breffni." Besides the wonder-tales and the stories from the Ossianic cycle there are independent romances like that fine story

¹ MacPherson borrowed the title for his eighteenth-century orations from this poetry.

given in Larminie's "West Irish Folk Tales"—"The Woman who went to Hell."

The Danes have an important place in Irish tradition. They hid their treasures after their defeat at Clontarf, and the hens when they murmur at night are telling where the treasures are hidden. It was the Danes, the people say, who brought poultry to Ireland. They also built the raths or forts. It is probable that the Danes are credited with a portion of the tradition that goes back to the De Danaans. The present writer has heard peasants say that in Denmark the nobles give dowries to their daughters out of estates in Ireland. The tradition of the Heather Ale in Ireland is that it was brewed by the Danes. The historical events that the people speak of are the Cromwellian campaign and the Williamite war. They have no popular poetry relating to the first. The Williamite war was full of dramatic incidents and it eventuated in the overthrow of Celtic society. And yet they have few memorials of that epoch. The people of the North take an interest in the battle of the Boyne and because of their celebrations it is known to the rest of Ireland. But Catholic Ireland mourns for Aughrim. The old men will tell you how the French general St. Ruth was jealous of Sarsfield, how he kept his plans from him, and how the sudden death of St. Ruth lost the battle for the Irish.

One cannot allude to the Williamite war without making some reference to the Munster poets. Two of them—Egan O'Rahilly and Eoghan Ruadh O'Sullivan—have been mentioned already. The Munster poets were the surviving bardic association, and they saw the Cromwellian plantation of Munster, the outbreak of the revolutionary war, the first victories of the Irish forces, and their final defeat, the ruin of the Catholic families, and the opening of the penal régime. "A troop of horse at the brink of a gap, a fierce fight, a struggle with foot soldiers"—thus the poets of the seventeenth century saw the conflict. But the eighteenth-century poets live in a more languishing time. Their measures become more and more complex and their themes more and more abstract. In the poetry of the period one form

predominates—the *aislinn* or vision. The poet, as he walks abroad, sees a beautiful damsel. Her hair falls to the grass and in her face the rose and the lily strive for mastery. She tells him that she is under bonds and that she waits for one who is the King's Son or the Young Deliverer. This abstraction of Ireland passes into the new popular poetry in English and the ballad-singers sing of Ireland as "Granuaile." By the firesides the curious and characteristic "secret" songs are sung. In them defiance and aspiration are hidden under esoteric references. "Secret" name after "secret" name is invented for Ireland—she is Kathleen Ni Holohan, the Poor Old Woman, the Little Dark Rose, the Silk of the Kine. These curious songs are aspirations rather than memorials, and the only popular songs from the wars are "The Farewell to Patrick Sarsfield" and "Shaun O'Dwyer a Glanna." Until we come to the poems made in English and presented to the people as part of a deliberate national propaganda we do not meet in Irish tradition a body of national ballads.

The Irish people are without traditional ballads, but they possess a body of beautiful lyric poetry. It is in Irish, and Dr. Hyde has given us a selection from it in "The Love Songs of Connacht." Out of this book one could take a dozen lyrics that are not below Shelley's for melody nor below Browning's for subtlety. In "The Oxford Book of English Verse" one of these poems, "My Grief on the Sea," is given in Dr. Hyde's translation. There are others in the collection that are more intense, more subtle, and more melodious than this particular poem. Dr. Hyde took it down from an old woman who was living in a hut in the middle of a bog. We have no complete collection of Irish folksongs, and if some one would put together the songs out of various collections—love songs, religious songs, laments for the dead, satires, poems of friendship, drinking songs, and patriotic songs—Ireland could show a body of folk-poetry that could go beside the wonderful Rumanian collections.

Particular customs relating to birth and death survive. One that presses hardly on women of the West is that which forbids a woman to milk a cow between child-birth and the time she is churched.

Often the woman is far from neighbours, and her husband is labouring in Scotland or England perhaps. The most impressive custom connected with death is the "caoine" (keen) or lament chanted by women. It is a traditional chant, monotonous and almost impersonal, rising to a poignant expression now and again. Those who have heard the caoine are not likely to forget the experience. Sometimes a father or a mother will rise up and improvise a verse, giving a personal expression to the praise or the sorrow. The clergy are against the custom of keening the dead, but in Irish-speaking districts one can still hear at funerals the traditional lament. All over Ireland custom forbids the woman of the peasant households to sit down to a meal with the priest. The custom of shaking holy water over people going into the sea to bathe, and of giving holy water to the fishers who go out night after night mark the Celtic distrust of the sea.

In connection with Christmas there are some charming customs that are peculiar to Ireland. In every cottage a lighted candle is placed in the window on Christmas-eve night. This light is in remembrance of the wandering of Mary and Joseph. The shopkeepers in the country are expected to present their customers with a Christmas candle. It is kept burning day and night, and regarded as something sacred. Even in sophisticated Dublin, the small shopkeepers will send a Christmas candle to their customers. And at midnight on Christmas Eve, the people declare, the ass in the stable goes down on its knees.

Irish tradition and Irish history are well comprehended in the two great Dublin libraries—the National Library and the library of Trinity College. The National Library is the most popular of the Irish public institutions; it is the reading room for the students of both universities, the reference library for the Irish public, and the Patent Office for Ireland. There are about 200,000 volumes in its collection. The Joly collection in the National Library makes an important section. It contains over 20,000 volumes and a great collection of prints. A considerable section of the books deal with Irish affairs, but the bulk of the collection is concerned with military history within

the period of the French Revolution and the end of the Revolutionary wars. The library of Trinity College is rich in Irish manuscripts, and it has amongst its treasures the famous Book of Kells. It is one of the six libraries in the United Kingdom to which books must be sent for the purpose of securing copyright.

CHAPTER VIII

IRISH HUMOUR

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Irish peasant is always saying funny things. Life in Ireland has not flowed for centuries through scenes shadowed by tragedy without receiving a deep tinge of sadness. There is in the Irish nature an underlying melancholy, which at times fills the individual with a strange disquietude as of an impending catastrophe. Many peasant sayings might be quoted that wear a sable fringe. But, even so, in the life of Ireland, viewed as a whole, there is a widespread sense of gregarious fun and gaiety ; and a droll vein of humour—conscious as well as unconscious—is prevalent in the peasant class, to a larger extent, perhaps, than is commonly allowed by Nature as an alleviation of human infirmity elsewhere.

One constantly sees, however, in the comic columns of English weekly newspapers specimens of Irish comicality which are imbued with no touch of the colour and breath of the atmosphere of Irish life. They appear to be survivals of a traditional type of Irish humour, once accepted as genuine in high places, but ringing hollow in ears attuned to the sound of the real gold of Irish fun and feeling. Southey, in a letter to a friend, written in 1835, relates that the curate at Keswick, an Irishman, having had a baby born to him, he, as godfather, suggested, in order to make the child "a true Paddy," the flooring of the lying-in chamber with turf from the Bog of Allen, the use of whisky, instead of water, at the christening, and the suckling of the baby by—a bull. "And if that would not have made him Irish, what would ?" asks the poet. And even still it is believed

that the ingredients of an Irish joke are turf, whisky, and a bull.

The writer has heard three distinguished Britons—all of whom gave a thousand proofs of the possession of a high sense of humour—publicly tell Irish stories of this class which purported to give the Irish way of looking at things, but which, nevertheless, were without the true Irish flavour. In the House of Commons Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman related how the head of a family complained to three friends, an Englishman, a Scotsman, and an Irishman, that an awkward or careless servant was constantly breaking his china, and asked their advice as to what he ought to do with her. The practical Englishman said, "Dismiss her." "Take it out of her wages," said the thrifty Scot. The gentleman explained that the wages were less than the amount of damage. "Then raise her wages," said the Irishman. General Booth substantiated his praise of the work of the Salvation Army in a speech by stating that an Irishman named Patrick Maloney, who applied for a situation, presented a testimonial which ran—"This is to testify that Patrick Maloney is a good workman and deserving of substantial wages.—(Signed) Patrick Maloney"; and when it was pointed out to him that the recommendation had been written by himself, replied, "Yes, so it is; an' is there anybody in this wide world that knows Patrick Maloney and what is his due better than himself?" Mr. W. T. Stead, speaking on the subject of one of the several schemes to which he gave his countenance, referred to a bet that was made by two Irishmen. It was that Pat would not carry up three ladders a hod of bricks with Mike sitting on the top of the hod. Two of the ladders were ascended without mishap, but on the third Pat missed a step. He held on, however, and thus saved himself and Mike from falling a distance of 40 ft. "I've won the bet!" he exclaimed when they reached the top. "Yis," replied Mike; "but when yez slipped I thought I had yez."

The engaging attribute displayed in these stories, a childlike simplicity as well as a childlike lack of common sense, are commonly supposed to pertain to the character of an Irish peasant. But if any one were to act upon that assumption in making a fine bargain

with a peasant in the market or at the fair he would find himself, in the end, most grievously disillusioned, for the soaring mind of the peasant is really ballasted by solid, practical qualities. These anecdotes are good fun in their way, but they are not convincing. To the Irishman their sound has an odd mixture of strangeness and familiarity. The voice in them is a colourable imitation of the Irish voice, but the words that are spoken are the invention of some one unacquainted with the Irish habit and character of expression. In fact, they no more reveal the Irish mind than the Irish physical characteristics were revealed in the caricatures of an Irishman once so popular in the music-halls.

A good deal of peasant humour is unconscious, or, perhaps, sub-conscious; the humour that is character and habit rather than purposely jocular, playful, and witty—in fact, a process of mind, the swift expression of exuberant and impetuous feeling. Many stories might, however, be told that bear evidence of intentional effort, and yet are a true effluence of Irish nature. A labourer who fell off a building and fractured his ribs was awarded £25 compensation by the Court. But his solicitor kept £15 for professional services. The labourer gazed at the ten sovereigns that were handed to him in great surprise. "What are you looking at?" asked the solicitor. "Well, as you asked me, Sir," replied the workman, "I was just wonderin' which of us it was that fell off the buildin' and broke his ribs." During the great railway strike of 1911 an amateur engine-driver, in pulling up at a country station, took the train a long way past the platform, and then backing the train went as far again beyond the platform at the other end. "Stop where yez are," shouted a Dublin playboy among the pickets, "we'll shift the station for yez!"

"Come now, Pat," said one of a party of tourists to a Connemara peasant, "I'll give you a sovereign if you tell a bigger lie than you ever told before." Pat at once responded with, "Faith, Sir, you're a real gentleman," and the company unanimously declared that the sovereign was well earned.

It is doubtful, however, whether Pat really intended that his compliment to the tourist should be taken as

the biggest lie he was capable of. The courteous and sensitive Irish peasant, as a rule, is innately incapable of saying rude things to the stranger—even to the rude stranger, so as to put him out of conceit with himself—for the stranger is held almost sacred in rural Ireland. Pat probably intended it as a genuine expression of thanks and praise for the tourist's offer, as a preliminary to turning his mind to the manufacture of a magnificent lie, in which imagination and not satire would have play, when the approving shouts of the company told him that he had already won the sovereign unwittingly. But there can be no doubt whatever that the female keeper of the village post-office and provision shop intended to be bitterly cutting and severe to a lady who bought her groceries elsewhere and only called at this establishment for her correspondence. "The impudence of you!" cried the irate shopkeeper in the postmistress, "you can go an' get your letters where you get your tay an' sugar." Irish women and men may occasionally lose their tempers, but they can never lose their temperaments.

The story is also illustrative of the incongruous and amusing incidents and situations into which Irish people are sometimes led by that perversity of thought and action which springs from their keen sensibility and passionate earnestness divorced from reflection. From a somewhat kindred source springs the national aptitude for "bulls"—the swift operation of a vivid fancy combined with high powers of memory and association which blends two or more opposite ideas in a unity which astonishes and amuses by its happy complication and incongruity. For it is a curious effect of an Irish "bull" that however it may turn a thing the wrong way round it always tends to its completer and more perfect understanding. Simple and true to Irish nature was the description recently given by a Nationalist member of the desolation of a farm in Ireland. "The only animals that can live on it," said he, "are the seagulls which fly over it." Happy again as an example of the fundamental incongruity between the ideas associated in a "bull" is the retort of a thirsty car-driver to his English fare, who had just refreshed him at a roadside publichouse. "Well, has that made another man of you?" said the traveller.

"Faith, it has, Sir," replied the jarvey; "an' he's dry, too."

But, after all, what are much more racy of the soil, much more amusingly illustrative of the peculiar twist of the peasant mind, are the droll replies—instinctive and instant, without a trace of seeking after effect and of a character different from "bulls"—which are so frequently to be heard in Ireland. A priest called on a farmer who had given way to drink and lectured him on the virtue of restraint. "Just look at your cow there at the stream," said his reverence, "you may be sure she won't drink too much." "An' who'd thank her, when 'tis only wather?" retorted the farmer. A member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, taking the agricultural statistics of a rural district, called at a farmer's house when the occupier was out, and was directed by one of the family—a young lad—where he would find him. "He's out in the paddock wid the ass," said the boy; "you'll know father by his straw hat." As an example of the incompatibility of an answer with the real matter in hand another story may be told. An old countrywoman going to town by train stepped into a first-class carriage with her basket and made herself nice and comfortable. Then a porter came along and said, "Are you first-class, my good woman?" "Begor, I am, an' thank you," she replied, "an' how do you feel yerself?" In somewhat the same vein of inconsequence is the expression of sympathy contained in this dialogue:—"How does this damp weather agree with you, Mrs. Maloney?" "Badly, thin. I'm just contrivin' to keep out of the hands of the undertakers." "Faix, an' I'm sorry to hear that same, ma'am."

Any one acquainted with the moods and expressions of the Irish people hears the dulcet tones of their voices in these colloquies. He hears it also in the excuse given by a young cattle jobber who imposed upon a Protestant clergyman by selling him an animal that was diseased. The parson thought proper to give him a lecture on his deceit, but he quickly interrupted it by saying, "Ah, don't be angry with me, Sir. Sure, I'm only a lame boy with no way of livin' but by strategims."

CHAPTER IX

MUSIC IN IRELAND

THERE is an old aphorism, too hackneyed to bear repetition, concerning the relative importance of a nation's songs and laws, whose truth would assuredly have established Ireland as beyond doubt the earthly Paradise. For all the world has long since admitted and marvelled at the miracle of Irish folksong. It would seem a simple thing to say that a nation that could produce such beauty must have an intense natural disposition towards music, and so to narrow such a review as the present into a mere inquiry whether the talent has in later years been buried or put out at interest. But those who understand such matters best have claimed, with apparent though ruthless accuracy, that Celtic peoples show no special natural aptitude for music, but that the stores of melody found amongst peoples on the north-west fringe of Europe—Norse, West Highland, Welsh, and Irish—are pre-Celtic and are now credited by us to the glory of a race that did not produce them. However, even if we unwillingly accept this verdict and grant the appropriation, it is clear that the Celtic usurper showed himself susceptible to the beauty of his plunder, at least in Ireland; for there is a famous passage in Giraldus Cambrensis describing the marvellous brilliancy of Irish harp-playing in A.D. 1200, at which time harpers were often so popular and dangerous that the authorities were forced to outlaw them.

If, then, music had in the thirteenth century taken such hold upon the land, can we say that the present state of the art in Ireland fulfils the early promise?

Before attempting an analysis of that present state it must be admitted that no lover of truth can give an

indecisive answer to such a question. At the best he must bow the head and plead that great allowances must be made. For Ireland is a country of small towns and limited incomes. It is handicapped, even where distances are small, by a backward state of communication. The treatment of Elgar's *Gerontius* at the English provincial festivals creates a suspicion as to whether the work could be given at all in the larger towns of Ireland. Then again the concert halls of the country are inadequate. In Dublin, for instance, since the new National University has withdrawn the permission which the old Royal University used to grant for the use of its hall for concert purposes, it is doubtful whether there is a building in the city in which a large work could be adequately given. Finally, but most important of all, the country is drained year by year of its best talent, which finds so little field for development or reward that its eyes turn always to England as the land of greater promise. Many of the present difficulties of Irish life are due, directly or indirectly, to this widespread emigration of talent, and the art of music is particularly hard hit. The detriment suffered may be gauged from the facts that owing first to the impossibility of obtaining first-class wind-instrument players, conductors have to rely on theatre bands, and in consequence cannot secure a good orchestra in the evening; and second, owing to the absence of resident soloists of the highest class, vocal or instrumental, concert-givers are compelled to import their "stars," and the enormous expense of this procedure has brought debt and extinction to more than one enterprise, as the survivors of the fine old Dublin Musical Society could testify.

In the matter of choral music it is not necessary to examine very far back into history. In Dublin, in spite of sporadic efforts which include the famous production of *The Messiah*, choral music as an indigenous activity begins with the four brothers Robinson. A tradition and standard of excellence had been kept alive by the Cathedral choirs of St. Patrick and Christ Church, and the debt owed them should never be forgotten. But choral singing on a large scale and of a high calibre first obtained a permanent footing in Dublin through the Ancient Concerts (1834-1864),

which were the creation of the genius and personality of Mr. Joseph Robinson. After an interval of twelve years the same conductor founded, in 1876, the Dublin Musical Society, being succeeded in the control, at a time when the popularity of the society was already on the wane, by Dr. Joseph Smith. This body was reconstituted about 1896, but ceased to exist in 1904. Unaccompanied singing of a high type was represented by Dr. Culwick's Orpheus Choir, which did not survive the death of its founder in 1907, and by the choir of Mr. Arthur Patton, an amateur of altogether exceptional ability. Two private societies for men's voices should be mentioned, both of which have done invaluable work in a quiet way. The Hibernian Catch Club, said to be the oldest musical club in the kingdom, was founded by the vicars choral of Christ Church and St. Patrick's in 1680. It is limited to 100 members, and still maintains its good musical and social traditions. The Strollers' Club, also limited to a membership of 100, was founded in 1865 for the study of German male-voice music. It is still a credit to Irish harmony and hospitality.

No amount of patriotism could justify the pretence that, at the decease of the Dublin Musical Society in 1904, choral music in Dublin had reached a stage comparable to that in England. At that date there were probably a dozen choirs in the North of England alone who were so superior in technique and tone that they could, after one rehearsal, give finished performances of works which could never have been mastered in Dublin at all. One of the most ardent enthusiasts of Irish musical life confessed to his country being a full generation behind in the cardinal points of great singing, and, indeed, the standard of performance in Dublin is still deplorably low. The material that should have formed one phalanx is dissipated in at least two fairly large and many small choral societies, and the renaissance seems despairingly far distant. The Dublin Oratorio Society gives what would be called in England fairly creditable performances of various works, but a lack of finish is a characteristic of most of their efforts; and the Dublin Philharmonic Society, hampered as it is by the want of new blood, still fills a certain place in musical life. More important than either of these

bodies in its effect on musical progress, and more justifiable as an isolated institution, is the Dublin University Choral Society. Founded as long ago as 1837, this chorus has had but three conductors in its whole existence. Mr. Joseph Robinson was the first, Sir Robert Stewart—a man of rare genius, and one who had honour in his own country—the second, while Dr. Marchant, the organist of St. Patrick's, is now in control. What enterprise there has been in Dublin music may be credited to this society. From its earliest days it has produced works almost immediately after their appearance at the English festivals, and while its ordinary *répertoire* contains the more modern works, such as Verdi's *Requiem* and Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha*, it has also introduced to Ireland some of the great masterpieces, such as Brahms's *Requiem* and Bach's B minor Mass.

There are smaller musical societies in various parts of the country—Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Sligo, Derry, Bangor, Limerick, etc.—which, like those in the smaller English towns, have their ups and downs, and fulfil on the whole a useful and necessary function. But it would be idle to claim that their excellence could form the basis of any musical self-satisfaction. In Belfast, however, we find a standard reached which is not attained or even approached elsewhere in Ireland, including Dublin. For many years Belfast has had its Philharmonic Society, which flourished consistently under the conductorship of Dr. Koehler, who has only recently retired. The Northern city has a strong and justified sense of its own importance, and its musicians regard it as in a sense a point of honour that its choral society should do it credit. The result of this pride, together with the notoriously greater energy of the North, is a readiness to undergo hard work, and a loyalty to the society and conductor, as great as can be found in such a town as Sheffield. But, dangerous though it is to touch any discussion in which Ulster and the rest of Ireland are in contrast, it is open to doubt whether the innate musical feeling of the North is as great as that of the South, or whether any musical regeneration of Ireland is likely to spread over the country from the north-east.

In orchestral performances the standard attained is,

principally for the reasons given above, almost negligible. But the efforts made in recent years must prove, sooner or later, an invaluable basis for progress. In Dublin the realization of what first-class orchestral playing means may be said to date from 1898, in which year a Dublin lady, Mrs. Page Thrower, brought over the famous Hallé band from Manchester. The concerts, conducted by Cowen and Richter, were a great artistic success, and inspired the formation of the Dublin Orchestral Society. In spite of a somewhat apathetic public this body has, since 1899, been doing good spadework, under the conductorship of Dr. Esposito—one of the few really first-class musicians whom Ireland has ever attracted as a makeweight for the many exported. In addition to its regular concerts this orchestra has for several years given a series of Sunday concerts in the Ancient Concert Rooms, and the crowded attendances at these prove that the soil is not unfertile. But grateful as music-lovers should be to Dr. Esposito and others who are keeping the torch alight, it should be realized, first, that no present Irish orchestra could give a performance that would be called first-rate in any of a dozen English towns; and, secondly, that none is likely to do so as long as the lack of public support compels private generosity to whitewash balance sheets. As chamber music has been called the younger sister of orchestral, let it be recorded here that its condition in the country gives real satisfaction to those seriously interested in the art. For delight in chamber music has undoubtedly increased to a surprising extent of late years. Where there was, twenty years ago, an isolated quartet, there can now be found eight or ten combinations of players, some of them of marked efficiency; and the credit for this is due to a large extent to the influence of the Royal Dublin Society. The concerts of this society have been in existence for many years, and the high standards of Leinster House have proved the existence of a keen and cultivated audience, limited but increasing, just at the time when alarmists are bewailing the decay and prophesying the extinction of chamber music in England.

In the matter of opera it cannot be said that Ireland is worse served than Great Britain. At one time,

indeed, Dublin was second only to London in securing a regular season of Italian works and star singers. The burning of the old Theatre Royal, however, ended the regular seasons in Dublin, and for some years there was no operatic performance beyond the occasional presentations of Balfe and Wallace. The advent of the Carl Rosa and Moody Manners companies, and in 1911 of the Quinlan company, have made Irish audiences familiar with many great masterpieces, even if they do not hear the works which, like *Salome* and *Electra*, are the talk of the moment. Good performances of such works as *Carmen* and the principal Wagnerian dramas, generally in English, are fairly frequent and widely appreciated, and it is a startling testimony to the instinct of the country that the most popular of all operas is *Die Meistersinger*.

The education of the musician in Ireland is a question difficult and delicate to discuss. There are in the country numerous teachers of ability, and the amateur is, except in the remoter parts, generally able to secure adequate instruction in the commoner branches. But for the full and generous training of the embryo-professional of promise there are many difficulties. If he be a pianist, the Royal Irish Academy of Music should suffice for some years. This institution has done excellent work in all branches, but perhaps it is only in piano-playing that a student reaps as great advantages as he would obtain by travel, and Dr. Esposito may be proud of his work in this direction. For the general dissemination of higher ideals and standards it is difficult to speak too highly of the influence of the Feis Ceoil. This movement was founded in 1896, very much on the lines of the great English competitive festivals. It has encouraged the study, performance, and composition of Irish music; it has discovered more than one now well-known singer; it has given a great impetus to choral singing throughout the country, especially amongst the working classes. Adjudicators accustomed to English standards have remarked on the continuous advance in the level of attainment, and have in some cases pronounced that level to be exceedingly high. A particularly encouraging feature has been the great success—sometimes almost un-

canny—of the choirs of school-children in reading at sight. No institution has done more for the permanent good of music in Ireland, and no movement has secured a finer contribution of able and disinterested efforts on the part of its organizers; and since the ever-increasing number of competitors proves the stability of its popularity, it is not oversanguine to hope that possibly through this channel will come the impetus that will at last end our stagnation.

It would be ungrateful and unfair to conclude any account of music in Ireland without paying a tribute to the part played by the Cathedral choirs in keeping alive the traditions of good music. In the darkest times they were, as has been pointed out above, the sole torch-bearers, and at all times they have done something more than the mere provision of music for Church services. In the country Cathedrals the resources seldom allow the attainment of such excellence as is found in the choirs in some English Cathedrals; but even where the standard is least ideal it is high enough to be invaluable under the local conditions. In Dublin the three fine professional choirs of St. Patrick's, Christ Church, and Trinity College are, at their best, quite first-class and perform first-class music. It is safe to say that more Church music of the unrivalled Elizabethan period can be heard in a month in Dublin than in any other town, London included, in the British Isles; and it is devoutly to be hoped that Trinity College, that great home of learning and light, will never discard the noble traditions so persistently maintained and consolidated by Dr. Mahaffy. It may be ineradicably characteristic of the Irish temperament that really slovenly and really irreproachable singing should frequently be heard at one and the same service; yet the excellent occurs often enough to prevent our being unmindful of those who for so many years have kept the oasis uncontaminated.

PART IV

THE STATE OF EDUCATION

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It is commonly said that if a Home Rule Government came into power in Ireland the first thing that it would do would be to reform the whole system of education. Perhaps this is true. But it is worth remarking that discontent with its educational system is a malady from which almost every country in the world is suffering to-day. There could not be the intense modern craving for education without such discontent. In the bitter competition of the life of these later years it is impossible for every man to succeed in even a moderate degree, and only a very few can attain the measure of success of which they have dreamed or which they think they deserve. The inevitable result is dissatisfaction, which vents itself on the educational system. Few parents are willing to concede that the talents of their children have had justice done to them. In the countries which are most successful, where the average of ambition among the people is highest, discontent with the educational system is commonly most clamorous. Ireland, therefore, is not singular in the controversy which rages about her schools and Universities. Whether or not she has an especial excuse for discontent in the fact that all educators who have had experience in other parts of the British Isles testify to the unusual quickness and intelligence of Irish children is matter for argument: *Non enim res, sed spes, laudanda est.*

In any case in Ireland it is peculiarly easy for discontent, however natural and universal, to become embittered by political, and even religious, associa-

tions. As is said elsewhere, however, we have in this volume no concern with political (and still less with religious) matters of dispute. In so far as any of the writers of the following chapters expresses views which are coloured by his personal opinions, these views have an interest for, and can be provocative to, only a limited number of certain classes in Ireland. What we are interested in are the facts as they exist, the work that is being done, and the machinery by which it is being done. The following chapters, then, deal with the larger factors in the educational system—the ordinary elementary and intermediate schools, the work of the teaching orders, the national University, Trinity College, and scientific and technical education and art instruction. It is hardly necessary to say that in giving prominence to the work of the Roman Catholic teaching orders it is not the intention to belittle by comparison that which is done by the other Churches. In educational matters in Ireland, however, the teaching orders occupy an exceptional position.

CHAPTER I

THE ELEMENTARY AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS

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PRIMARY education is directed by a Board of twenty members, appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, "who are men of high personal character, including individuals of exalted station in the Church and persons professing different religious opinions."

The members are unpaid, with the exception of the Resident Commissioner, who controls the details of administration. By its charters (1845 and 1860) the Board is independent of the Irish Executive, except in respect of fresh expenditure, which must be approved by the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury, and of Parliament, except in so far as its estimates are voted, and are occasionally discussed, by the House of Commons. A Board invested with such autocratic powers is theoretically not easy to defend, and is certainly an anomaly in days which have seen the downfall of most institutions based on privilege; but it has its justification in historical causes which have not yet ceased to be operative. It is a commonplace that racially and religiously Ireland is a divided country, and that differences which elsewhere are viewed more or less philosophically are debated in Ireland with unwearied assiduity and acrimony, so that rational compromise is almost unknown. The National Board has at any rate this merit, that, though "raked by shot and shell" for more than eighty years, it has pursued its beneficent course, as indifferent to the opinion of the world as the Epicurean gods, but not so untroubled, since, as Mr. Graham Balfour has said, the only alleviation of its sufferings seems to have been an occasional change of assailants.

Before the institution of the Board, in 1831, all

English agencies to encourage Irish primary education were utilized for proselytizing purposes. Such were the notorious Charter Schools, which were reported to be "so bad as to be incapable of reform," the schools of the London Hibernian and Baptist Societies. The Kildare Place Society, though not avowedly unsectarian, was placed by the Roman Catholic Church in the same category.

Between 1791 and 1825 three Commissions condemned all such attempts "to influence or disturb the peculiar tenets of any sect or description of Christians"; and in 1828 a Select Committee of the House of Commons stated that, in their opinion, it was "of the utmost importance to bring together children of different religious persuasions in Ireland for the purpose of instructing them in the general subjects of moral and literary knowledge, and providing facilities for their religious instruction *separately* when differences of creed render it impracticable for them to receive religious instruction together." As the Roman Catholic Hierarchy unanimously presented petitions to both Houses of Parliament in favour of the recommendations of this Committee, the Whig Chief Secretary in 1831, the Hon. E. G. Stanley, established the Board of National Education, appointing as its president the Duke of Leinster, and as two of its members Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and the celebrated Dr. Whately.

Though at first popular with the Catholics, the new institution was fiercely resented by the Established Church, which objected to the exclusion of the reading of the Bible during secular instruction, and by the Presbyterians, who refused to admit Catholic ecclesiastics to their schools. The quarrels with these denominations fully occupied the Board during the first eighteen years of its existence. The revolutionary extravagances of 1848, the death of Dr. Murray, the appointment of Dr. Cullen, and the Synod of Thurles in 1850 altered the attitude of the Catholics towards undenominational education, and induced them to join the other Churches in their tireless war upon united education, which was the fundamental principle of the system.

The struggles of the Board to preserve the last

vestiges of this principle have largely absorbed its energies ever since. But in the intervals of warfare the voice of the educational reformer has not been silent. The fame of Dr. Whately does not smell sweet with the Gaelic League, or with those who do not regard every type of culture but their own as sheer barbarism. At any rate, in Ireland he is now remembered mainly as the man who in 1838 struck out of the reading-book "Breathes there a man with soul so dead" and forbade the recitation of "Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell." But as an educational reformer he was in advance of his time. In spite of his ambition to turn the Irish boy into "a happy English child," he really sympathized with the needs of the country, and the early reports of the Board, which bear the impress of his hand, were fertile in proposals to improve the technical and agricultural education of the people. But his well-known racial and religious principles were fatal to his influence, and in 1852 he felt himself compelled to resign the Board, leaving no one to continue his work. Thereupon, as a recent writer has said, "the blanket of the dark descended upon the Board, and lasted until the introduction of the results system in 1873 made the darkness visible."

Space does not permit, nor is it necessary, to detail the weaknesses of the once-lauded system of individual examination. It has long since been abandoned in Scotland and England; and, except in intermediate education, Ireland saw the last of it in 1900. After twenty-five years' experience of its effects the Vice-regal Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction was of opinion that the results programme left the children "not fit to enter a technical school, even if they had such a school at their doors." Previously to this, in 1884, the Royal Commission on Technical Education had reported that no progress could be effected in Ireland until primary education had been placed on a proper footing; and in 1896 the Director-General of Military Education reported that the education imparted in National Schools in Ireland differed so widely from that given in Great Britain that it would be inadvisable to send the children of soldiers to them.

Very wide-reaching reforms followed upon the report of the Commission on Manual Instruction. Through causes over which the Board has had no control they have not yet produced their full fruit; but an immense advance has been made, as has been shown by a recent speech of the Resident Commissioner:

"Before 1900 the programme was largely confined to English, with its sub-heads and arithmetic; other subjects, such as elementary science, kindergarten, drawing, cookery, laundry-work, woodwork, singing, drill, were attempted in only a comparatively small number of schools. To what extent the programme has been widened and what educational progress has been made during the last twelve years may be judged from the following figures. Before 1900 singing was taught in 1,475 schools; drawing in 2,146; hand-and-eye work (including kindergarten) in 448: they are now fully taken up in 7,315, 8,272, and 6,750 schools respectively. Before 1900 physical drill was not attempted, nor was elementary science (including hygiene, nature knowledge, etc.), except in fourteen schools; they are now taken up in 8,227 and 8,196 schools respectively. Similarly before 1900 cookery was taught in 125 convent schools and laundry-work in eleven; they are now successfully taught in connexion with the scientific principles underlying them, in 2,572 and 716 schools respectively."

This is a very satisfactory record, and it has been made in the face of the most galling discouragement. The annual reports of the Board show that for the financing of many of these experiments money had to be wrung from the Treasury as Montaigne says, "like blood out of the nose." In 1903 the development grant, which in England and Scotland was assigned to education, was sequestered by Mr. Wyndham, who stated in Parliament (July 31, 1903) that he should have considered it "an act of extravagance to have hastily given this money to the national teachers of Ireland," and that "Irish education was so backward that it was not ready to receive it," and that "it was admitted by the Intermediate Board, and it was a matter of common knowledge, that they had more money than they knew what to do with." Only

an eccentric logician would argue that, inasmuch as the Irish systems were backward because they were starved, it therefore followed that they should continue to be starved because they were backward.

Nor was the affluence of the Intermediate Board surprising, since it was prevented by the Executive from expending its superfluous wealth upon inspection, the institution of which, under the Intermediate Act of 1899, was a legal obligation. The starving of national education after the sequestration of the development grant will form a curious chapter in the history of Irish education, for the compiling of which full details are to be found in the annual reports since 1903.

In 1902 a committee appointed by the Treasury recommended an improvement in the plans for school buildings, and in the building grants. Instead of accepting the report of their own committee, the Treasury practically stopped all building grants, until they were restored by Mr. Birrell in 1907. In 1903 scholarships were proposed for pupils from National Schools; they have been granted in 1912, but on conditions which the general council of the County Councils has decided to refuse. In 1903 higher-grade schools were proposed; the scheme was approved by the Treasury, but was referred to the development grant which has been depleted, so that in 1912 they are still not forthcoming, though Mr. Birrell strongly favours their institution. In 1906 fees were requested for the establishment of school gardens; a small sum was voted for this purpose in 1912. Since 1904 the Board has dwelt on the necessity of improving the salaries of the principals of large and important schools. Since 1907 attention has been called to the injustice caused by the limitation of the numbers in the first grade of teachers. Since 1903 an amendment of the Pensions Act has been represented to be the most urgent of all reforms. In the present year £25,000 has been voted for this purpose, but the teachers are not likely to enjoy the advantage of it for some years to come.

Under the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Acts of 1878 and 1899 intermediate education is controlled by an unpaid Board of twelve members (six Catholic and six Protestant), appointed to administer the annual

interest of £1,000,000 paid to them from the funds of the disestablished Irish Church, together with the so-called "Whiskey Money" (under the Customs and Excise Act, 1890), which some years ago amounted to about £70,000 per annum, but which, in consequence of the Finance Act of 1909, dropped to £18,000. For the latter an annual fixed grant of £46,000 was substituted by the Treasury in 1911. Originally the Board was empowered only to conduct general public examinations, at which boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and nineteen competed for valuable exhibitions and prizes. On the results of these examinations the schools received the so-called school grant, which, according to the sum received under the Customs and Excise Act, varied from about £45,000 to about £70,000 per annum. As the majority of the Irish schools, at least among the Catholics, are unendowed, it is obvious that in self-defence they are compelled to submit to the examination mill, whether they like it or not.

The evils of the system which it was administering became so patent to the Board that in 1898 it approached the Lord Lieutenant with a view to being constituted a Viceregal Commission to inquire into and report on the system of intermediate education and its practical working. Upon the report of this Commission there followed the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1899. The Board asked for powers to introduce a system of inspection and to abolish the examinations for pass-students; but unfortunately their hands were tied, so that, although they were empowered to appoint inspectors, they were restricted in respect of reforms to the recommendations of the Commission, which did not recommend the abolition of the public general examination. In 1902 certain rules were sanctioned by the Lord Lieutenant, and thereby acquired the force of statutes, which rendered inspection obligatory upon the Board. But when, in pursuance of its legal obligation, it asked the Government for the appointment of a permanent staff of inspectors, to quote from its report of 1906, "its communications were sometimes barely acknowledged for six months or were met with a postponement of the question for another year." The Executive

seems to have argued that, since intermediate education was in a "backward" condition through the abuse of the examination system, they should ignore the provisions of the Act of Parliament which proposed to remedy this abuse by the introduction of inspection. Be that as it may, from 1902 until 1908, six years of fruitless appeals to the Executive succeeded, during which irreparable injury was caused to thousands of students; and it was not until the Board unanimously threatened to resign that it was allowed to satisfy its statutory obligation to appoint inspectors.

Space does not permit us to go into greater detail touching the recent history of Irish primary and intermediate education; it remains to say a few words about the future. Political changes are threatened which, if successful, will certainly revolutionize their character. Mr. Field, M.P., has already stated that the very first measure he would propose in the new Irish Parliament is the abolition of the National Board; the Intermediate Board will certainly suffer the same fate. But their downfall will not be brought about without a struggle. It is difficult for a stranger, judging only from the tone of the Nationalist journals, to understand why such apparently unfriended institutions should have survived so long. It would be easy for the Irish Party to procure the revocation of the charter of the National Board, and the Intermediate Board might be abolished by a Bill of a single clause. But the systems have strong friends, whose influence, though unseen, is well-nigh irresistible. Hitherto they have allowed the Education Boards to be raked by converging fires, because they felt that such artillery, though ear-deafening, was harmless. When the existence of the Boards is really threatened it will be found that surplised defenders will start up from every furrow.

Nor, indeed, can it be denied that both Boards have great merits, to which, and not to their defects, their unpopularity is almost solely due. It is true that the nomination of their members is constitutionally indefensible, but it is questionable whether popular election would produce bodies half so independent or efficient. It is constantly stated that they are not

responsive to public opinion. They are certainly not dominated by it, but their recent encouragement of the Irish language shows that they respond readily enough to whatever public opinion can be said to exist. Because they are theoretically not democratic it has been assumed that they are undemocratic in practice. The opposite is the case. The present Boards control the details of the administration, and every member can make his views felt; and, as vacancies are filled by successive Governments on the advice of the bodies interested in the new appointments, they necessarily represent different phases of political and religious thought. Thus among the twenty members of the National Board there are at present seven or eight professed Nationalists. As the Resident Commissioner has lately said :

"It is to be hoped that, whatever changes the future has in store for Ireland, the immense interests of education may continue to be controlled in the spirit of sweet reasonableness which has long characterized the discussions of the National Board. Discouraged until recently by the Executive, hampered in every step by the Treasury, it has not taken its hands from the plough. During the last decade, in the face of the most persistent opposition and misrepresentation, which are generally ill-informed and often malicious, the Board has carried through a revolution such as no other European department has effected in so short a time."

Though the merits of the Boards have brought them nothing but unpopularity, their real defects have rarely been criticized, though they are neither few nor unimportant. First, the administration of the Boards is conducted in watertight compartments, so that, as has been said, "impenetrable layers stretch between the different grades of education, and communication between the lower and higher is almost as difficult as between this planet and Mars." Neither the Intermediate nor the National Board has powers to bridge the gap between primary and intermediate education. The Intermediate Board is constrained by Acts of Parliament to expend its grants according to the results of a general written examination suited only to candidates for the Civil Service or the Uni-

versities; the National Board is not allowed to establish higher-grade schools in which children might be trained for industrial careers. The effects of this want of co-ordination have recently been demonstrated in connexion with Mr. Birrell's scheme of scholarships for children from elementary schools. To administer these proposals it is actually provided that a third Board shall be created, to act as an intermediary between the existing authorities.

Another great evil is the impotence of the Intermediate Board to provide a living wage, security of tenure, and pensions for the lay teachers. Mr. Birrell deserves infinite credit, which he is not likely to receive, for his gallant advocacy of the interests of the lay element on the teaching staffs of the intermediate schools. But he has succeeded only in demonstrating the hopelessness of their position in a country where there is no real desire to diminish the clerical control of education. The failure of his schemes will be regretted by many, especially by the leaders of the Nationalist Party, to whom, and not to the Ulster members, as the *Irish Educational Review* seems to have convinced itself, the schemes were really due. But it is well that the truth should be known.

Indeed, there are important advantages in the present system. Man for man, the clerical are superior to the lay teachers, who are mainly birds of passage or the failures of other professions. Intermediate teaching for Roman Catholic laymen can never be attractive, even if the maximum salaries should be, as they claim, £300 per annum. The clerics are giving a sound education, in fine buildings, for a figure which would make an Englishman of the middle classes gasp. If laymen are to be substituted for them to any large extent, and if their salaries are to be reasonably increased, either the intermediate grant must be raised to at least £300,000 per annum or the parents must consent to pay double for having their children instructed by possibly inferior teachers. There is no sign that they are anxious for this consummation. It is useless to drone charms over a wound that needs the knife. If, as some demand, the lay element is to be firmly established in Irish schools, it can only be by the methods of M. Combes or Senhor Costa.

CHAPTER II

THE WORK OF THE TEACHING ORDERS

ANY account of Ireland in the beginning of the twentieth century, written from the educational point of view, would be incomplete without some mention of the work undertaken and accomplished by the Catholic teaching orders during the last hundred years. The people of Ireland, as a whole, are known to be a religious-minded people. With them education divorced from religion finds no favour, and this not only as regards Catholics, but as regards members of other religious bodies as well. Even Presbyterians and Methodists, though theoretically in favour of undenominational education, in practice have their own schools in Ireland when possible.

At the beginning of the last century the Protestants of Ireland were well provided for educationally. They had Trinity College, Dublin, they had the Royal Schools, the Erasmus Smith schools, the diocesan schools, the "Charter" schools, the schools under the Kildare Place Society, all well endowed, and all conducted on strictly Protestant principles or on principles acceptable to Protestants. The Catholics, on the other hand, had no endowments, and were receiving no financial aid from public sources, except the then small grant to Maynooth College. Whatever schools they had were built and supported out of their own slender resources; and, needless to say, were poorly equipped. The first grant of public money for primary education, in a form at all acceptable to Catholics, did not come until 1831. No public grant for intermediate education, available to Catholics, was made until 1878.

In the meantime, long before any public funds were

forthcoming, the teaching orders, whether of men or of women, had been at work, building and equipping schools, and providing education, both primary and intermediate, not only in the large centres of population, but also in many country districts. It can safely be said that the educational work of these orders, whether primary or intermediate, would compare not unfavourably with similar work done at that time in England or in Protestant schools in Ireland. When tested later on by the inspectors of the National Board, and still later by the intermediate examinations, it was found that the schools of the teaching orders more than held their own as compared with the other schools throughout the country.

Among the orders thus brought into the educational life of Ireland six are deserving of special notice, inasmuch as they were entirely of Irish origin and Irish growth. They are the Christian Brothers, founded by Edmund Rice of Waterford on the model of de la Salle's great institution, and the Presentation Brothers for boys; and the Presentation Nuns, the Irish Sisters of Charity, the Loretto Nuns, and the Sisters of Mercy for girls. These six orders were Irish in their founders, in their training, and in their spirit. They were all instituted between 1790 and 1827, and would seem to have come into existence to meet the educational wants of the time. There is something very striking in this springing up of these six teaching orders, within so short a period, in a country so small as Ireland. Premeditation there was none. The simple facts were that the time had come when Irish Catholics were at liberty to open schools, and these six orders, spontaneously as it were, came into being to help in doing so. To an Irish Catholic it might seem as if some of the seeds shed by the old Monastic and Church schools had suddenly sprouted up and borne fruit. Other orders joined in: The Jesuits in 1814, later on the Vincentians, the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, and the Marists; also the Ursulines, the Dominicans, and the Nuns of the Sacred Heart.

The work of teaching started by these and other orders, for many long years received neither public acknowledgment nor public aid. On the contrary, in

many ways, it met with discouragement and opposition. Still it grew and prospered—spreading branches far and wide, permeating by its influence every stratum of Catholic society in Ireland, until at last it won for itself public recognition, and established its claim, on its own merits, to a large share of the public funds devoted to the promotion of primary and intermediate education in Ireland.

The first thoughts of the teaching orders were for the poor. In Ireland, as in England, at the beginning of the nineteenth century primary education had no official organization or even recognition. In England, at that time, such primary schools as existed were indebted for their origin and their upkeep to the British and Foreign Society or the National Society, or to the efforts of landlords and local magnates. In Ireland there were similar societies and some similar local efforts, but the schools so established were described in the report of the Commissioners appointed in 1812 as “ill-taught and ill-regulated.” In any case, entrance to them was barred to conscientious Catholics owing to the conditions imposed as to religion. It was in these circumstances that the teaching orders appeared, and they certainly supplied a want which apparently at the time, and as far as one can judge even now, would have been left for a long time unsupplied but for them. The Presentation Nuns, founded in Cork in 1791, began to spread in Dublin and elsewhere before 1800; the Christian Brothers and the Presentation Brothers were founded in 1802; the Sisters of Charity in 1815; the Loretto Nuns in 1821; and the Sisters of Mercy in 1827.

Except in reference to a very few schools and for a short time only, the primary schools of the Christian Brothers never came under the Commissioners of National Education, and so were never subjected to official inspection. It is well known, however, that the standard of education maintained in them has been high. In the second report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-84, page 501, the Commissioners, speaking of the teaching orders in Ireland, say :

“The most important is the Order of the Christian Brothers, which has distinguished itself by the zeal

and skill with which it has carried out the educational mission to which it has devoted itself. . . . Their remarkable school at Cork was visited by the Commissioners. Similar schools are to be found in other parts of Ireland."

The other five orders just mentioned began, like the Christian Brothers, to build and to maintain primary schools out of private resources. The work thus begun has never been discontinued. Difficulties there were, of course, and of no light nature. And these difficulties were not at an end when the schools were started and organized. Money had to be provided to pay the teachers and meet other expenses. Temptations there were to share in such local endowments as existed, but the freedom from official control counted for much, especially at a time when, in view of the traditions of the past, official interference of any kind found no favour with the majority of the people in Ireland. In the end, however, all, except the Christian Brothers, availed themselves of the advantages, financial and otherwise, offered by connexion with the Board of National Education. But it should be added that another teaching order, the Sisters of the Holy Faith, founded in 1857, have also held aloof from the system administered by the Commissioners of National Education. These Sisters have, in and about Dublin, thirteen schools with an attendance of about 4,000 pupils.

According to the report of the Commissioners of National Education for 1910-11, the number of schools under their control and taught by nuns or brothers was 399. The average number of pupils on the rolls of these schools was 112,478 and the average daily attendance 84,472. These figures give the percentage of the average daily attendance of pupils to the average number on the rolls as 75·1. The corresponding percentage for all the schools under the National Board in 1910 was 70·8. In the same report of the Commissioners it is stated that while the average cost per pupil in the ordinary National Schools is £3 os. 7d., the corresponding cost to the public in convent and monastery National Schools, paid by capitation, is £2 6s. 9d. In the eighty-four convent and

monastery schools, paid by personal salaries, the corresponding cost is £2 13s. 1d. In addition to these schools of the teaching orders under the Commissioners of National Education we must take account of the 110 primary schools taught by the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of the Holy Faith, the average attendance at which is 27,500. These figures, added to the figures of the schools under the National Board, give a total of 509 primary schools under the teaching orders and an average of 111,972 pupils receiving education at their hands. As to the quality of the teaching and the general standard of success to be found in the primary schools of the teaching orders under the National Board, it is not easy within a short compass to produce satisfactory proof; but plentiful evidence is scattered over the reports of the Board's inspectors from year to year. That their work is at least as good as the best of the work in the ordinary schools seems to be generally admitted.

The supplying of secondary or intermediate schools on terms acceptable to Irish Catholics at the beginning of the last century was at first undertaken by secular priests or by Catholic laymen in the case of boys and by Catholic ladies in the case of girls. As time went on the teaching orders whose members devoted themselves to higher or secondary education, both men and women, having community funds at their disposal or owing to other causes, began to open large intermediate schools—both boarding and day. Many of the boarding schools so opened were in the country, surrounded by their own well-wooded parks; others were in Dublin or its neighbourhood; others, again, in or near large provincial towns or cities. Not only the boarding schools, but the day schools also were well provided with suitable buildings, and in most cases with good recreation grounds. The large boarding schools for boys were regarded as colleges, and came to be so called.

Catholic parents very soon showed a preference for the colleges and schools managed by the teaching orders. This preference increased as years passed by, with the consequence that in 1879, when the Intermediate Education Act came into force, the great majority of Catholic schools that came under its

operation were schools of the teaching orders. That this state of things still continues is clear from the following figures taken from the last report of the Commissioners of Intermediate Education. The total number of schools, Catholic and Protestant, in connexion with the Board and participating in the school grant in 1911 was 329. These schools had an attendance of 18,495 pupils. Of these 329 schools 208 were Catholic with an attendance of 12,668 pupils; and of these 208 Catholic schools 164 were in the hands of the teaching orders, the number of pupils in attendance being about 10,230.

The educational status of the schools under the teaching orders may be roughly judged by the fact that the total school grant paid to all the Catholic schools by the Intermediate Commissioners in 1911 was £34,192 3s. 1d., and of this sum the schools of the teaching orders received £27,491 9s. 10d. To gauge the standard of education aimed at or attained in these schools, the only test at present available is an analysis of the number of exhibitions and prizes awarded to the pupils. It is not by any means suggested that this is the best or most trustworthy test, especially as the exhibitions and prizes are awarded on the result of written examinations common to all the schools, and therefore of necessity competitive. Still, it is the only test we have, and it shows at all events what schools are able to attract clever boys and able also to keep a staff of masters capable of teaching and instructing them so as to win exhibitions and prizes.

A complete analysis of the exhibition list is out of the question here, but, taking the schools for boys and girls which gained two or more exhibitions, we get the following figures: Thirty-seven schools for boys in all Ireland obtained two or more exhibitions, the total number of exhibitions so obtained being 166. These 166 exhibitions were thus distributed: Schools of the teaching orders, 94; schools in the hands of secular priests, 18; Protestant schools, 54. Twenty schools for girls obtained two or more exhibitions. The total so obtained was 94, and were thus distributed: Schools of the teaching orders, 45; Protestant schools, 49.

Without straining the importance to be attached to the amount of school grant paid to the teaching orders, and to the number of exhibitions won by their pupils in open competition, the figures just given seem to establish two facts—first, that the schools of the orders are looked upon with favour by the Catholics of Ireland; secondly, that the educational work accomplished by them bears comparison with similar work done in Protestant schools or in other Catholic schools.

There are seven training colleges for teachers of primary schools in Ireland. Five of these are under Catholic management, and are in the hands of teaching orders. The official records of the Office of the Commissioners of National Education bear witness that these colleges, judged by the reports of inspectors as well as by the annual examinations, oral and written, hold at least as high a place as either of the two colleges under other than Catholic management.

The colleges under the teaching orders were first recognized in 1883. At that date the percentage of trained teachers to the total number of teachers in the primary schools in Ireland was 32·2. The corresponding percentage in 1910 was 67·9.

In Ireland the law as regards instruction of the deaf and dumb or the blind remains the same as it was when the Royal Commission reported in 1889. The guardians of a union are authorized to contribute to the education of the deaf and dumb or of the blind in any approved institution, but the contribution in the case of adults is not to exceed 5s. weekly. No money for the purpose comes from the Treasury. The only provision for the instruction of Catholics of these defective classes in Ireland has been made by the teaching orders. Special schools or institutions have been founded—three for the deaf and dumb and three for the blind. The three institutions for the deaf and dumb were opened respectively in 1846, 1849, and 1892. Those for the blind date from a later period, the earliest having been opened in 1858.

The buildings in all cases are extensive, with spacious, well-ventilated halls, and with ample opportunity for exercise and recreation in the open air. The number of deaf and dumb in residence and under

instruction in 1912 was 424; the number of blind inmates under instruction was 233.

The foregoing facts show that the teaching orders have taken a large share in the educational work that has been going on in Ireland for more than a century. They show, moreover, that their share has not been the least successful part of the work accomplished. It is true that in the colleges and schools in the hands of the teaching orders religion and education go hand in hand. No apology is required for such a state of things; but if challenged, a satisfactory answer is that Ireland in this is like Scotland.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

IF ever educational or indeed other project made its bow to the world under inauspicious circumstances, surely that unfortunate victim was the Queen's University of Ireland. *Infelix opportunitate sua* might with good reason have been its motto. For it was launched in a Catholic country and to meet an acknowledged Catholic grievance, and designed, as all now think, most honestly to satisfy those labouring under that grievance; yet it was launched almost simultaneously with that storm of anti-Catholic agitation which swept over England against the so-called "Papal aggression" of 1850 and culminated in the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

Little wonder perhaps that, coming when and whence they did, the Queen's University and the Queen's Colleges were received with great suspicion, and the latter condemned, though only by the narrow majority of a single vote, by the Synod of Thurles. The Queen's Colleges were three in number, and were situated in Belfast, in Cork, and in Galway. They were obviously intended for the Provinces of Ulster, Munster, and Connaught; Leinster, it may be supposed, being considered to be sufficiently provided for by Trinity College, Dublin. As to the choice of Belfast and Cork, no criticism was or is possible, and it is now too late to consider whether the selection of a more easterly spot in the Province of Connaught might not have offered greater prospects of success to an institution for higher education.

Under the Queen's University and, so far as the southern and western colleges were concerned, much hampered by the religious ban under which they lay,

the Queen's Colleges carried on their work until the hasty legislation which dissolved that university and brought into existence an examining body, named the Royal University of Ireland. This institution was modelled very much on the lines of the unreformed University of London, and suffered from most of the failings of that organization. But it was enabled by means of its "Fellowships" (which were in reality examinerships) to supply, as by a side-wind, a small indirect endowment to University College, Dublin. That institution, the remains of the Catholic University which was inaugurated under the Rectorship of the late Cardinal Newman, was unchartered and unendowed, and the funds which it thus derived from the Royal University enabled it to keep its flag flying until the National University with its constituent colleges came into existence, when the older college practically became merged in the present University College, Dublin.

Such then was the position when Mr. Birrell set his hand to the plough. There was an unendowed college in Dublin, doing good work and approved in principle by the vast majority of the population. Side by side with it was the richly endowed Trinity College, also doing excellent work, but, without any offence, it may be said, in the main resorted to by members of the minority. There was the college in Belfast, well attended and popular with the Protestants of the North. Presbyterian in so far that its President has always been a member of that body of which its present head is a respected minister. There was Cork, always successful in its medical and engineering schools, but otherwise crippled for want of support in the more general aspects of education; Cork, whose Presidents have all been Catholics. And finally there was Galway, which with the exception of two brief periods, neither of which extended to a year in duration, has always had non-Catholic Presidents; an institution which, though always small in numbers, as indeed was almost inevitable from its position, has turned out a good number of distinguished graduates. It was not an easy problem to solve, the university problem in Ireland. It had been a commonplace of Commissions and a stumbling-stone for Governments

when Mr. Birrell took it in hand. Nor was his task made any easier by the fact that the very day before he took office his predecessor had announced a policy of university reform with which many disagreed and which most believed to be wholly incapable of passage through either House of Parliament.

Mr. Birrell's policy had three compartments: it left Trinity alone; it set up an independent university in Belfast; it constituted that undesirable thing a Federal University for the rest of Ireland, and attached thereto three constituent colleges—the two former colleges of Cork and Galway and a newly endowed college in Dublin which was to rise from the ashes of the former University College. As regards the first point, there is no doubt that legislation was rendered very much easier by the omission of Trinity College, Dublin. Indeed, most persons would agree that its inclusion in any scheme would have rendered success more than doubtful. The constitution of a university for Belfast, under predominantly Protestant influences, though never asked for by the North and resisted in Committee by some of its representatives, was an undoubtedly proper step and has met with the success which it deserved. Further, this relieved the Government from any necessity in their third compartment for following, or even recognizing, the hateful Royal University system of the "balancing of creeds," whereby no member of the Senate could be appointed or subsequently collated to any committee unless he was balanced there and then by somebody representing the opposite school of religious thought. This atrocious system, still existent in some Irish boards, came to an end, as far as universities are concerned, with Mr. Birrell's legislation.

What to do with the rest of Ireland was the real problem, and it was solved, temporarily only (for no federal university can ever be regarded as or has ever yet been a permanent settlement), by the creation of the National University of Ireland. This institution consists of a Senate, nominated in the first instance for a term of five years, after that elective, whose members are, and in the nature of things are likely to remain, predominantly Catholic. This body has offices and holds meetings and appoints external

examiners. Further, subject to certain limitations with regard to nominations from the colleges, it appoints the Presidents and the professors and university lecturers in all the colleges. In that respect it differs from previous federal universities, whose colleges have retained their autonomy so far as the appointment of teachers is concerned. But the system of the National University differs in another and much more striking way from all previous federal universities. Subject to the control of the university in the supervision of courses and the appointment of external examiners, each college is to all intents and purposes an independent university. A brief sketch of how this is effected may be useful and interesting.

Each college can and does submit its own courses to the University Senate, such courses having been drawn up by its own professors and approved by its own governing body. These courses need not necessarily be similar to those of the other colleges, though as a matter of fact things have so worked out that there are no great discrepancies between them. These courses, when approved by the university bodies, are followed by students of the college in question in order that they may obtain their degrees. The various examinations for these degrees are held separately in each college, on different papers from those of the other colleges, and by the teachers in the college in conjunction with an external examiner provided and paid by the university. Thus, for example, the Professor of Latin in Cork examines all the students taught by him on the books which he has selected and which have been approved by the university, with him being associated an external examiner, the only link which binds him to the rest of the university. The only link—for it will be obvious from what has been said that the external examiner is the sole guarantee which the university and the general public have that the standard of the colleges is approximately the same. During the three years that the scheme has been working it may be added that the external examiners have unanimously and unhesitatingly expressed in their reports the opinion that, so far as is humanly possible, the standard is maintained at the same level in the different colleges.

Finally, when the examination is passed, the degree obtained is conferred, not at a common congregation for the university, but at the college at which the student took his lectures and at which he was examined. Thus a Cork student enters in Cork, pursues his course in Cork, is examined by Cork teachers, with external examiners, has his degree conferred on him in Cork by the Cork President, acting as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the university, and never in his life is brought nearer to that shadowy entity the National University than envisaging its name on examination papers and other official documents. It will be admitted by all educationists who read these lines that no further step, save complete independence, could well be taken in the way of educational autonomy for the colleges.

Before turning to the results and difficulties of the experiment, it may be well very briefly to refer to one other point, and that is the matter of Maynooth, always a difficulty in contemplated university legislation. That great institution, unfortunately almost unknown and totally misunderstood by most English educationists, is a college with some six hundred students and with buildings about the size of those of Trinity College, Cambridge. Its students are all intended for one profession, no doubt, but professional subjects do not alone constitute the curriculum, for there is full provision for the teaching of arts and some of the sciences. A clause in the Irish Universities Act rendered affiliation of institutions of university rank possible, though it very fully shut out bodies in any way associated with secondary or intermediate education, and very properly shut them out. Under this clause Maynooth has been brought in as an affiliated college, and a number of its professors have been constituted "recognized teachers." Its students pursue their studies for degrees in Maynooth, and are there examined by their own teachers with university professors and external examiners; and their degrees are there conferred by the Vice-Chancellor. It has thus come to pass that the status of Maynooth, save that it receives no endowment, has come to differ but slightly from that of a constituent college. It has no direct representation on the future Senate, but

there can be little doubt that the representatives of the graduates will number amongst them some who will be *alumni* of Maynooth and will look after its interests in the University.

Three years have now passed since the Act came into operation—or three years and three months, to be accurate, for the colleges found their new governing bodies in office on February 1, the old nominated bodies going out of office on the previous day. What so far has been the result? On the whole satisfactory, it may fairly be replied. In the case of Dublin, which had almost to make a fresh beginning, and is still working in makeshift buildings, plans for its new edifices having recently been approved, there is a great increase in numbers, so much so that it is expected that its roll will soon exceed that of its neighbour Trinity. In the case of Cork there is also a great increase in numbers, these being more than double what they were a few years ago; and there has been a still greater increase, and a growing increase too, in popular interest and support. In the case of Galway there is also an increase, though a much smaller increase, in the number of students. That public sympathy is on the side of the colleges is emphatically shown by the vote of scholarships made to them, and to them alone, by almost all the county and borough councils of the South, West, and Midlands, and by the determination so far shown to confine the scholarships to those colleges which correspond to public needs and are notoriously in want of funds, and not to permit them to be held in institutions which they regard as having smaller claims upon public support.

Of course the arrangement is not perfect; no federal university in the nature of things can work satisfactorily; each carries within its body, from the moment of its birth, the seeds of disruption, and the National University is no exception to the rule. Take the question of meetings alone.

Cork, for example, is some 170 miles from Dublin. The representatives of the Southern city must, in order to attend a meeting even of one hour's duration in Dublin, spend a minimum of thirty hours away from home, during all which time their college work

is at a standstill. Worse still when—as may be expected, it is a rare occurrence—a meeting of the faculties has to take place. These consist of all the University professors and lecturers, and the result of such a meeting to a college is that all its work comes to a standstill for the greater part of two days. And for the University each such meeting means a sum of between £200 and £300 for the travelling and hotel expenses of those attending. Further, there is this extra strain on the *uitlanders*, that, being in a very small minority on the Senate as compared with the Dublin representatives, they must all attend, and attend regularly, at every meeting, which is no small sacrifice for those who are busy professional men. Here again is a weak point in the constitution of the university. So far everything, it may cheerfully and gratefully be admitted, has worked very harmoniously, but nevertheless it can never be forgotten that, of three rival colleges, one has a very large majority of representatives on the nominated Senate and is assured of always possessing a similar position. It must be obvious to any observer that such a position is one of insecurity and danger to the other colleges. It is earnestly to be hoped that, in the future as in the past, mutual good feeling and confidence may avert the dangers which undoubtedly lurk in such a state of affairs.

It is, perhaps, unlikely that the *status quo* will long persist. Cork has vehemently demanded its own university for more than seventy years. It has now between 400 and 500 students, which is more than Belfast possessed when she was presented with her own university. It is probable that, whatever changes may be before us in connexion with the government of Ireland, efforts will be made to secure for Cork the boon she has so long craved, nor are there any very obvious signs of opposition from other parts of the country. What then might be the movements of the other colleges of the National University it is not for the present writer to speculate. Suffice it to say that the present state of affairs, whilst an enormous improvement on that which preceded it, and almost certainly a quite necessary stage in the university development of Ireland, does not appear to any think-

ing person to be one in which any kind of finality has been reached.

A system which demands the constant and prolonged absences of those most intimately concerned in the management of colleges, often for meetings at which trivial if inevitable points of detail have to be settled, is a wasteful system educationally. It is a wasteful system financially, since it involves the University in much unremunerative expenditure on railways and hotels, and it is quite obvious that it is one which in one way or another will have to be ended or mended. •

CHAPTER IV

TRINITY COLLEGE

It is not possible to rehearse here even in outline the story of the birth of Trinity College. It was chiefly owing to the efforts of two Dublin citizens, Luke Challoner and Henry Ussher, that Queen Elizabeth granted on March 3, 1591, the charter incorporating the College as "the mother of an university." A fund of over £2,000 was thereupon contributed by officials, prelates, the city, and others, and the work of building on the site given by the corporation was quickly put in hand. The story is told in Fuller's "Church History" (quoted by Stubbs) that during the two years while the College was being built it never rained except during the night.

For endowment the new University received in 1594 the munificent sum of £100 a year out of "concealed lands," or lands to which the title could not be proved and which then became the property of the Crown. The Plantation of Ulster by James I. in 1610 provided, however, a more trustworthy source of income, when large estates in the north of Ireland were granted to the society. From that time onwards with few reverses the College property grew in value, and the members of the society, consisting of Provosts, Fellows, and scholars, gradually increased.

The first century of the life of the College, however, was a troublous and eventful period. The earlier Provosts were all drawn from England. Most of them were men of Puritanical leanings, and to the clergy educated in Trinity under their supervision the Church of Ireland owes, in part, her Evangelical traditions. This state of affairs was, however, momentarily checked when Archbishop Laud became Chancellor in 1629.

Chappell, Milton's tutor, supposed to be the original of Damœtas in "Lycidas," was appointed Provost, and the Fellows were compelled to wear surplices when preaching. With the assistance of the Deputy, Strafford, the society was coerced in many ways and the Caroline statutes of 1637 forced upon it. The policy of Laud and Strafford was overthrown by the rebellion of 1641, and the second Duke of Ormonde, a faithful friend of the College, became Chancellor. He was succeeded by Henry Cromwell during the Commonwealth, only to be reinstated at the Restoration.

When James II. came to the Throne and Ormonde ceased to be Deputy and Chancellor, the advent of Tyrconnel marked a difficult time in the affairs of the College. The Concordatum Fund of £400 a year was stopped, and the College was compelled to meet expenses by parting with some of its plate, as it had done during the rebellion of 1641, and to apply the proceeds to the support of the Vice-Provost, three Fellows, and the scholars who remained. For shortly before James landed in Ireland the Provost and the majority of the Fellows had departed for England, several of the library MSS., the patents, and a large sum of money having been sent on in advance. On the arrival of the King the College was turned into a barrack and afterwards into a prison, the chapel plate and mace were seized, and the chapel became a powder magazine. Of the little band of four Fellows who remained in Ireland two died, and immediately after the landing of King William the others returned from England. A great deal of the plate which had been collected by the College, partly in the form of gifts from parents and partly as a charge at matriculation, was lost or sold; but even the fragment that remains is infinitely the finest collection of Irish plate in existence.

In spite of stress and storm, however, the progress made by Trinity in the seventeenth century was very great. The number of students had gradually grown, until between 1660 and 1680 the average number of matriculations was forty-five each year, and between 1680 and 1690 a little over sixty. Goldsmith, in his "Life of Parnell" (quoted by Stubbs), states that in 1693 the entrance examination was more strict at

Dublin than at Oxford or Cambridge. The existence of a University in Ireland had proved of great use in training Irishmen for the Church and for the law, and until the policy of Primate Boulter in the next century came into existence a great number of Bishoprics in the Irish Church were filled, as they are now, by Trinity graduates. Some of these, such as Archbishop King and Dudley Loftus, who became Primate of Ireland at the age of twenty-eight, were notable men in Irish history. Others found positions in England: Henry Dodwell obtained a Professorship at Oxford, and Edward Chandler became Bishop of Durham. Nahum Tate, almost the worst of the Laureates, and Thomas Parnell, the poet, the friend of Swift and Gay, of Pope and of Arbuthnot, were both Trinity men. Literature and the drama were represented by William Congreve, George Farquhar, and Thomas Southerne; philosophy by Peter Browne and William Molyneux, the friend of Locke. A man to whom Trinity owes much was Dr. John Stearne, who held successively the Professorships of Civil Law, Hebrew, and Medicine, and was the founder of the Royal College of Physicians in Dublin. Greatest of all in the annals of Trinity in the seventeenth century is the name of Swift.

The eighteenth century was a period of much activity in Trinity. Amongst the more important developments was the foundation of the Medical School. Though there had been so-called Medical Fellows since the time of Charles I. and Professors of Medicine since Dr. Stearne's days, there was neither a school for the study of anatomy nor a hospital in Dublin for clinical work. In 1710 the Medical School was founded, with lecturers in anatomy, in chemistry, and in botany. An astronomical observatory was erected at Dunsink, some five miles north-west of Dublin, in 1782, and a Professorship of Astronomy founded with money left for this purpose by Provost Andrews. One of the occupants of this Chair in the next century was William Rowan Hamilton, one of the greatest mathematical thinkers of all time.

The standard of teaching appears to have been well kept up during this period, and the number of matriculations, which barely exceeded sixty in the

best years of the preceding century, greatly increased, and reached an average of as much as 146 for the ten years 1791-1800. Premiums for good answering were instituted through the advocacy of Dr. Samuel Madden, one of the founders of the Royal Dublin Society. In 1710 sizars, that is to say students who pay only for "sizings" or meals other than commons, were for the first time required to pass a competitive examination, instead of being nominated. In 1751 the most distinguished answerers in Honours at the degree for Bachelor of Arts received the still coveted title of Moderators.

Another important event of the period was the foundation amongst the students of the College Historical Society, the "cradle of great orators." It is interesting to notice the antiquity of the Historical Society compared with similar institutions in the older Universities. The first meeting was held in 1747, and in 1789 graduates of Oxford and Cambridge were admitted to membership, the Oxford and Cambridge Unions not having been formed at that time.

The century, moreover, witnessed a remarkable output of genius from Trinity. Berkeley, the mathematician and philosopher, entered Trinity in 1700, and Delany, the friend and biographer of Swift, and the husband of Mary Graville, whose letters throw so much delightful light on eighteenth-century social life, matriculated in 1702. In 1744 Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke, the greatest of our orators, joined the College. In the Historical Society were trained, in addition to Burke, such men as Flood and Grattan, of Irish Parliamentary fame, and Plunket, Curran, and Sheil. Towards the end of the century, the poet Thomas Moore took advantage of the Act of 1793, which threw open the University to Roman Catholics, and entered Trinity.

Up to that year Roman Catholics had not been allowed to take degrees in the University, and when the Act of the Irish Parliament removed this disability, it was only with some difficulty that Lord Clare, the Vice-Chancellor, was compelled to recognize the enactment. The courage of Mr. Millar, who, in his capacity of Senior Master Non-Regent, and therefore a member

of the Caput, refused to allow any degrees to be conferred if the declaration abrogated by the Act was read, forced the consent of the Vice-Chancellor. The Act was confirmed by a Royal Statute of the College in the following year.

Meanwhile, under the guidance of Theobald Wolfe Tone, a former scholar of Trinity, the society known as the United Irishmen was growing up. Wolfe Tone's objects, originally confined to Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, gradually became associated with a policy of separation of Ireland from England. Committees of the United Irishmen were formed in the College and came under the notice of the authorities. A visitation was decided upon and the two visitors, Lord Clare and Dr. Duigenan, proceeded to expel some twenty students, including the famous Robert Emmet. At the same time the loyal element in Trinity formed itself into a Yeomanry Corps, and Dr. Stubbs tells the story of a candidate for scholarship who, engaged on duty all night, marched into the examination hall at 8 o'clock the following morning in his uniform.

It was not until well into the century that an attempt was made to determine the law as to Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters being elected to Fellowships or scholarships of the foundation. In 1845 the visitors, having a concrete case before them, decided that under the Royal Statute of 1794 none but those belonging to the Established Church could become members of the society. In 1854 the board established a class of "Non-Foundation Scholars" open to members of every religious denomination, and in 1873 Mr. Fawcett's Act abolished all tests in the University of Dublin except in the case of the Professors and Lecturers in Theology.

Under Bartholomew Lloyd, who became Provost in 1831, important changes were made in the teaching staff and in the curriculum. The study of mathematics was fostered and the reputation of Trinity was built up by the labours of such men as MacCullagh, Hamilton, Townsend, Jellett, Roberts, Salmon, and Joly. In many cases, as pointed out by a writer in the "Book of Trinity College," Dublin was a great deal in advance of Cambridge in instituting the

various honour courses, classical tripos being founded eight years, moral sciences tripos seventeen years, and law and history tripos twelve years after the corresponding Moderatorships in Dublin. The two Universities founded the honours degree in Natural Science in the same year, 1851. Dublin was also in advance of the English Universities in granting degrees in surgery. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the Irish College of Surgeons refused to recognize the lectures in the Medical School of the University as a qualification for a surgical diploma. Consequently in 1851 the University granted its own diploma in surgery. This was followed by the establishment of the degrees of Master of Surgery in 1858 and Bachelor of Surgery in 1872. The University of Dublin was also the first to establish, in 1842, an engineering school, the immediate purpose being the education of men for the necessary work in connexion with railway construction in Ireland. Another example of recent date of the progressive spirit of Dublin is the admission of women to degrees in the Arts and Faculties.

The nineteenth century witnessed two great celebrations in the College, one in honour of George IV. in 1821, and the other in 1835, when the British Association first visited Dublin, Lloyd, the Provost, being the President. But the great event of the century was the holding of the Tercentenary of the College in 1891. Most Trinity men are old enough to remember that festive time of dinners and dances and garden parties, when the streets were a mass of colour with the gowns of professors and graduates and of the delegates who came from all parts of the world to do the old College honour.

The words of reproach applied to Trinity during a short period of her history—the Silent Sister—have been dead for a hundred years. Through troublous and stormy times, in days of danger and of famine, she has kept the torch of learning alight. Her sons have carried her traditions into every sphere of activity amongst the peoples of the world. And more than this, she has become a great national institution, something woven into the very fabric of Irish life, not merely, as has been said, "the only English foundation

that ever succeeded in Ireland," but also the cradle and the nursery of great national ideas.

The Library of Trinity College is nobly housed in a singularly beautiful and well-proportioned building, and would be rich and famous if it possessed no other volume but "The Book of Kells." The Library had a curious origin. In 1591 some Army officers and soldiers serving in Ireland subscribed from the pay due to them £623 towards a library fund for the yet unbuilt University. This money was not realized for ten years, when two of the original promoters of the College, Luke Challoner and Henry Ussher, went to London to purchase books. This they did in conjunction with Sir Thomas Bodley, who was working on a like errand on behalf of Oxford. The two libraries are thus contemporary.

The present Library building was completed about 1733 at a cost of nearly £17,000. Money was voted for the building by the Irish Parliament, and the College expressed its gratitude by offering the degree of LL.D. to all members of the House of Commons who desired it. It is recorded that forty-one members availed themselves of the offer.

Only a few of the more famous contents of the Library can be indicated here. They include several Greek Biblical MSS., the most important being the celebrated Codex Z of St. Matthew's Gospel. Among Latin Biblical MSS. are the "Codex Usanianus," "The Garland of Howth," "The Book of Durrow," "The Book of Armagh," and, most precious of all, "The Book of Kells." Many of these MSS. show a great variety of ornament enriched with colour, the designs possessing the characteristic Celtic interlacings and spirals of the peculiar "trumpet-shaped" pattern. "The Book of Kells" is said by legend to have been written at the dictation of an angel, and has been described as "the most beautiful book in the world." The golden "shrine" or case of "The Book of Kells" has been lost, but the silver "shrines" of "The Book of Dimma" and "The Book of Moling," together with the leather satchel of "The Book of Armagh," are preserved in the Library. Amongst the numerous Celtic books is "The Book of Leinster," an historical and genealogical work.

No mention can be made here of the various rare first and early editions which the Library contains, but one interesting possession may be noticed—some volumes of the original Records of the Inquisition at Rome. These were removed to Paris by Napoleon, and were purchased by the College in 1854.

CHAPTER V

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

THE year 1900 may fairly be said to mark a turning-point in the history of scientific and technical education in Ireland; indeed, so far as the latter branch of education is concerned, it may justly be said to indicate a starting-point. Ten years previously a great forward movement had been initiated in England by the passing of two important Acts of Parliament—the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891. More important still, because of the provision made for the distribution of funds for technical education, was the passing of the Local Taxation Act of 1890. The large funds made available by these three Acts gave a great stimulus to education. But Ireland's share of the local taxation duties paid to the local taxation account was not devoted to technical education in Ireland. It was given to the Commissioners of National Education and the Board of Intermediate Education as part of their endowments. A sum of £78,000 went to the former body, but was afterwards transferred to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland on the establishment of that Department of State by the Act of 1899. The reason for the differential treatment is not far to seek.

In the year 1890 there was no adequate machinery for the administration of a system of technical education. County councils were not established in Ireland before 1898, and the Science and Art Department of South Kensington, which exercised in Ireland powers similar to those it possessed in England, was hardly in a position to carry out such a reform. This statement involves no reproach to that body, which had initiated many important institutions in Ireland, the fruits of

which are being reaped to-day, but its system of encouraging scientific education was inadequate to the needs of Ireland.

The science and art classes which had flourished in Ireland as in England had declined to such an extent that their complete extinction was threatened when the powers of South Kensington were transferred to the new Department under a provision of the Act of 1899. In 1879-80 the number of science students under instruction in England and Wales was 41,384, and the science grants earned were £29,899, while the corresponding figures for Ireland were 5,232 and £5,079. In the year 1897-8 the English and Welsh students numbered 154,583 and the science grants earned amounted to £167,414, while the Irish students numbered only 3,787 and the grants were £2,108. It will thus be seen that in eighteen years the number of English and Welsh students increased 273·5 per cent., and the science grants 459·9 per cent., while the number of Irish students decreased 27·6 per cent., and the grants on them 58·5 per cent.! In 1879-80 Irish students formed 11·2 per cent. of the total number of students, and the science grants on them were 14·5 per cent. of the total grants, while in 1897-8 the percentages were only 2·4 and 1·2 respectively.

The extraordinary decline indicated by these figures was not peculiar to classes under the South Kensington authorities. The Secondary Education Authority in Ireland is the Intermediate Education Board. In 1891 the number of boys presented for science in the intermediate examinations was 2,885; the number in 1899 was 67, —less than one-fourth.

This state of things led to the work of the Recess Committee, whose labours resulted in the Act of Parliament creating the new Department for Ireland, and which was placed on the Statute-book in 1899. If the decade before that year had been marked by the remarkable decline of which the above figures are evidence the succeeding decade was characterized by an advance no less noteworthy. The new Department realized that a sound system of technical education can only be erected on the foundation of a good general education, and that instruction in the principles of science must precede technological training. It had

no powers in respect of national (elementary) schools, and indeed the *National Education Board* had already, as a result of the recommendations of the *Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction* (1898), introduced the teaching of elementary science into national schools. The Department was enabled under the powers transferred to it from the South Kensington branch of the English Board of Education to bring about a much-needed reform in the teaching of science in Irish secondary schools. The figures quoted above show that such teaching had almost ceased to exist, and that the little done was purely theoretical. In the year 1900 there were not half a dozen science laboratories in the whole of the secondary schools of Ireland.

It is impossible to trace in detail here the steps by which, through the labours of the Department, the teaching of experimental science has been placed on a firm and satisfactory basis in the secondary schools of Ireland. While avoiding the extreme claims of the advocates of the "heuristic method," the instruction is largely inductive in character, and in all cases it is required that students shall themselves perform the experiments on which the more important fundamental generalizations depend. There are in the present session 276 secondary schools working the Department's programme (that is to say, nearly all the secondary schools in the country), and no fewer than 14,516 students followed the Department's course in science in 1911-12. The results of this teaching have now become abundantly clear in the subsequent careers of the students.

Out of the work done have grown several new developments, such as the Day Trades Preparatory Schools of which there are now thirteen. These schools are wholly under the Department's control and are administered through local authorities. They receive boys after a primary school education who intend to follow an industrial career. The curriculum includes elementary experimental science, mechanical drawing, and manual work in wood and metal. There are also three higher schools of domestic economy, providing a year's course in housewifery for girls who have had a good secondary education.

But the main educational work of the Department

is that branch of education commonly known as "technical." Schemes of technical education must be approved by the local authority for technical education and by the Department, and must receive the concurrence of the Board of Technical Instruction. In all cases the contribution of a local rate (generally one penny in the pound) is a *sine qua non*. Every county in Ireland now has its agricultural and technical instruction schemes, every county borough its flourishing technical institution, and nearly every urban centre a scheme suited to its own particular needs.

The county schemes of agricultural instruction make provision for the employment of itinerant teachers of agriculture and bee-keeping, poultry-keeping, and butter-making. There are about 130 such instructors now employed in delivering evening lectures and conducting day classes, who visit farms, gardens, poultry runs, and dairies for the purpose of giving individual advice and also conduct field or garden demonstrations. Out of this work is growing a demand for more thorough instruction, which is rapidly being met by a scheme of winter agricultural classes. The technical instruction schemes in rural districts make provision for instruction by means of itinerant teachers in domestic economy, manual work, commercial work, and home industries. Many hundreds of these courses are held every year and carry the light into the remotest parts of the country. The courses are held in the afternoons and evenings and last for six weeks or longer, according to circumstances. Some are even continuous throughout the year. There are now some 110 domestic economy teachers and 85 manual instructors at work in rural centres and small towns, giving such instruction as will educate youths to employ their abilities to better effect in their callings and will bear upon home life and make the countryside more bright and prosperous. That it has done this in conjunction with other agencies of social betterment is abundantly obvious. In many cases industries now permanent in character have grown out of these classes.

The schemes in the towns and cities permit of greater concentration and specialization, and in one

way or another technical school buildings have sprung up in all the larger towns. In Cork there are three flourishing schools: the Crawford Municipal School of Art, the Technical Institute, and the School of Commerce; while in Belfast there is a well-organized Technical Institute with some 6,000 students. Other excellent buildings have recently been erected in Dublin, Limerick, Londonderry, and Waterford, and many of the smaller towns.

CHAPTER VI

ART EDUCATION

ANY well-directed effort in the sphere of art education in Ireland is sure to evoke an ultimate response. There are doubtless many difficulties to overcome. Art patrons are scarce, and there seems no prospect of an increase in their number, but inherent in the Celtic temperament is a genuine love of art, which found expression from very early times. Historical causes are chiefly responsible for the fact that the expression of this love of art has been interrupted, but it exists none the less.

The Royal Dublin Society, which has done much for the cause of art in Ireland, was founded in the year 1731. In 1746, seeing that "since a good spirit shows itself for drawing and designing, which is the groundwork of painting, and so useful in manufactures," it was intended to erect a "little academy" for drawing and painting. This was the birth of the Metropolitan School of Art. In the year 1815 the society purchased Leinster House, and about 1843 the present school was built. In 1853-4 it was amalgamated with the school of design previously conducted by the Board of Trade. On the passing of the Science and Art Museum Act in 1877, the Royal Dublin Society was relieved of the administration of the Science and Art Department's grants and the school came under the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, but was transferred to the administration of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland in 1900. Since that time it has developed and is year by year being brought into harmony with the Department's schemes of science and art education, to the latter branch of

which it forms the apex. Its relation to the art education of the country will be more clearly understood from a brief sketch of the whole scheme of such education.

Drawing forms, of course, a subject of instruction in elementary schools. In secondary schools the Department have organized a scheme of art instruction as part of their programme of experimental science and drawing. This programme provides a course of instruction extending over four years. The first two years consist of a preliminary course in which drawing is an essential subject. The third and fourth years consist of specialized courses, of which drawing is one. The minimum age of pupils beginning the course is twelve. The equipment of the schools, the qualification of the teachers, and the curriculum are subject to the approval of the Department which makes special grants in aid of the teaching. These grants are based upon the number of pupils, the amount of time devoted to the study, and the efficiency of the teaching as determined by inspection. Although a large measure of freedom is permitted to schools to shape their own syllabuses of instruction, the permission is not taken much advantage of, on account of the honours examination of the Intermediate Education Board, for which many students are presented. The Department's syllabus is almost without exception adopted. In brief this syllabus is as follows :

PRELIMINARY COURSE.—FIRST YEAR

Elementary freehand drawing, with simple exercises in design ; model and object drawing ; memory drawing.

PRELIMINARY COURSE.—SECOND YEAR

Design ; model drawing from geometrical models and common objects ; drawing from memory ; geometrical and mechanical drawing.

SPECIAL COURSES.—THIRD YEAR

Freehand drawing from casts in low relief or modelling from the cast ; design ; model drawing from

geometrical models and familiar objects ; model drawing or modelling from memory ; geometrical and mechanical drawing ; solid geometry.

SPECIAL COURSES.—FOURTH YEAR

Model and object drawing ; drawing in light and shade, or modelling from the cast ; design ; memory drawing or modelling from memory ; geometrical drawing for girls ; geometrical drawing for boys.

The subject is optional in the third and fourth years. Schools, that is to say, may take it together with or alternative to one of the science courses.* In the session 1911-12 there were taking the preliminary course 164 boys' schools and 98 girls' schools, and taking the special courses were 22 boys' schools and 50 girls' schools. All these schools are secondary day schools giving a general education in which drawing is only one of several subjects of instruction.

For those who have already received a general education and are prepared to devote themselves to the study of art, there are schools of art in the larger centres of population and art classes in the smaller towns. Schools of art must have suitable rooms and equipment exclusively devoted to art instruction ; and provision must be made for drawing from life, for modelling, and for instruction in ornamental and decorative art. There are in Ireland five such schools—viz., at Belfast, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick, and Waterford. They are administered by the local authorities under schemes approved by the Department, and in addition to the grants from the Department's endowment fund special grants are made not exceeding three-fourths of the actual net expenditure.

The Metropolitan School of Art, to which reference has already been made, forms one of the group of fine buildings which includes Leinster House, the National Museum, and the National Gallery. It is administered directly by the Department. Its title is something of a misnomer, for it really serves some of the purposes of a national college of art. It trains teachers and it affords a training in the "fine arts," more especially in

art suited to industrial callings. The teaching of art crafts is being more and more developed, and the extension of the building now almost complete provides adequate accommodation for craft classes. The school has already acquired a reputation for its work in enamels and stained glass, which have secured gold medals in the national competition. The enamels especially have been exhibited in various cities on the Continent, and have been highly praised. In August last a collection was exhibited in Dresden on the occasion of the fifth International Art Congress and evoked the warmest appreciation from foreign critics. The classes in stained glass have been brought into close relationship to the stained glass industry established by Miss Purser, which has produced many beautiful examples of work. While in its aim the school therefore does not neglect the cultivation of the fine arts, it seeks especially to bring art into healthy relationship to industry. The Goldsmiths' Corporation of Ireland require the attendance of their apprentices at the school as one of their conditions of apprenticeship, and scholarships are available for those among them who show marked ability. The strong movement in the direction of artistic crafts dates from the Cork Exhibition of 1902, where in the Department's section were brought together many expert workers in art crafts. The teachers of enamelling were Miss Beatrice Martin and Mr. Edmund J. Brophy, who were the first two pupils of Mr. Alexander Fisher in the pioneer class at Finsbury. The impetus thus given, not only to enamelling but to other crafts, such as the making of stained glass, produced permanent and beneficial results. The movement has been fostered by the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland, which under the presidency of Lord Mayo has arranged valuable exhibitions from time to time and has served to focus public interest on work which would of necessity languish without it. The Royal Dublin Society also has an art industrial section in its annual show at Ballsbridge, when prizes of value are given, and the society also administers the Taylor Art Scholarships, which have played a useful part in the education of Irish artists. The committee of the Branchiardière Fund have also greatly aided improve-

ment in Irish lace design and technique by their grants and prizes.

The provincial schools of art previously mentioned have now an opportunity never before enjoyed to develop their teaching in accordance with the needs of the country. The revised rules of the Department afford these schools the utmost freedom to develop their efforts untrammelled by the conditions which had for so long been not unjustly criticized as forcing the teaching into narrow academic grooves. Each school will develop one or more special lines of work. For many years past the Cork School of Art has done valuable work in connexion with lace-making, while Belfast has naturally bent its efforts in the direction of textile design.

The schools of art, however, no less than the evening art classes which exist in the smaller towns of the country, depend largely for their success on the education given in the primary and secondary schools; and this in turn depends upon the teachers in these schools. A large number of national teachers now receive a training in drawing in special classes arranged for them in local technical institutions, while teachers of secondary schools and provincial art schools and classes enjoy facilities for attending summer courses of instruction at the Metropolitan School of Art. These have been organized in the month of July for the past eleven years. The Department, moreover, circulate to these schools collections of examples of distinguished work, to which they add from year to year.

We are not now ignoring those public or metropolitan institutions which have enormous if indirect influence in connexion with art education in Ireland. First of all are the valuable collections of the National Gallery and the National Museum, at which institutions students may work from the priceless examples accumulated. During the last few years, moreover, through the generosity and tireless energy of Sir Hugh Lane, the quite remarkable collection of modern work has been brought together to form a nucleus of a Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, which is spoken of more fully in another chapter. Finally there is the Royal Hibernian Academy, which holds annual ex-

hibitions of modern work at its galleries in Abbey Street. Its usefulness is impaired by want of means and the situation of the Academy buildings. Its annual exhibitions, however, are highly valued, and under the existing President, Mr. Dermot O'Brien, lectures and demonstrations in etching, lithography, etc., were arranged last year. These institutions, however, are dealt with at greater length elsewhere in this volume.

Opportunities for the proper study of architecture in Ireland have been wanting, but a forward step has been taken by the appointment of a Professor of Architecture in the new National University.

PART V

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE total area of Ireland is estimated to be 20,350,725 acres, which may be divided as follows :

Barren mountain, turf, bog, marsh, town and build- ing land, roads, fences, water, etc.	2,803,145
Roads and plantations	291,585
Pasture, including grazing mountains	12,418,867
Lands under crops, including meadows	4,837,128
	<u>20,350,725</u>

The population of Ireland in 1814 (as ascertained under the Census Act of 1812) and at subsequent periods is given below :

1814	5,937,856	1884	4,974,561
1844	8,276,627	1911	4,381,951
1864	5,640,527		

The decrease in population dates, of course, from the year of the great famine.

Up to 1845 so emphatically were potatoes the staple crop of Ireland that it was estimated that over one-third of the population was dependent on them for its daily food, in addition to which potatoes were used for feeding pigs and stall-feeding cattle. It is not the intention here to tell again the distressful story of rural Ireland from 1845 to 1890; but the picture which Father Mathew has left us of the coming of the famine may be quoted. There had been previous partial failures of the crop, as in 1729, 1821, 1831, and finally in 1845.

Father Mathew wrote (the letter is quoted by W. O'Brien in "The Great Famine") on August 3, 1846:

"On the 27th of last month (July) I passed from Cork to Dublin, and this doomed plant bloomed in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on August 3 I beheld with sorrow one wide waste of putrefying vegetation. In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens wringing their hands and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless."

Another writer, a Government Inspector, Captain Mann, says in his official report:

"The first alarm was in the latter part of July, when the potatoes showed signs of the previous year's disease, but I shall never forget the change in one week. On the first occasion I had passed over thirty-two miles thickly studded with potato fields in full bloom. The next time the face of the whole country was changed. The stalk remained bright green, but the leaves were all scorched black. It was the work of a night. Distress and fear were pictured in every countenance."

Thus suddenly did the blow fall which was 'to have such terrible consequences. The people, after the immediate results of the famine had passed, were left discouraged and embittered.

The year 1846 was also the year which saw the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the effect which that had in decreasing the area of tillage in Ireland is mentioned elsewhere. Meanwhile, from causes with which neither the famine nor the Corn Laws had anything to do, there were large districts in Ireland where the population had multiplied far beyond the capacity of the land to support it, and even the great efflux of emigration which set in after 1846 could only partially relieve the pressure. In these areas, now known as "Congested Districts," want, more or less acute, was the permanent condition of the people. A witness before the Cowper Commission of 1886 described them in temperate language:

"The estates consist of a number of very small holdings irregularly divided, not sufficiently large to

afford employment or support to the occupiers, and where the population are grouped together often in wretched cabins ; where subdivision exists and is on the increase ; where there are no local industries or public works to afford employment to the able-bodied, and where the inhabitants are mainly dependent upon their earnings as migratory labourers in England or Scotland during the summer months for the means of support for their families. Their system of cultivation is of the rudest character. In the winter months they do little work. Their chief crops are potatoes and patches of oats. . . . In the spring the crops are set and the able-bodied migrate, leaving the women and children to complete the summer's work and procure fuel for the winter. If the season proves unfavourable or the potato crop fails, or (as has been the case for some years) if, by reason of the use of machinery or other causes, the market for agricultural labour in England or Scotland is depressed, the people are without the means of support."

We are not now concerned with the causes which brought about these conditions ; still less are we concerned with all the dreadful controversy which has raged over the land question in Ireland. What interests us are the existing situation and the measures which have been taken and are being taken to relieve, not only the misery of the Congested Districts, but the condition of the whole rural population of Ireland. As will be seen from various passages in this volume, all the evidence goes to show that Ireland is distinctly more prosperous than she has been, and the most casual visitor to the outlying districts cannot fail to be struck by the signs, which are everywhere apparent, of the improved surroundings and greater material comfort of the people. The chief instrumentalities in the work which has been going on have been the various Land Acts, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the Congested Districts Board, and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. To these must be added the work done in the rehousing of labourers (which is carried out by the Rural District Councils under the guidance of the Local Government Board), and the self-sacrificing labours of a great many

individuals, chiefly Irishmen and Irishwomen, who have devoted themselves to the encouragement of various industries, and in other ways have given their time, their energy, and their money to ameliorating the lot of the poorer people. Tribute is paid elsewhere in this volume, to the admirable spirit in which the officials and representatives of the Department, the Boards, and the Society have given themselves to their work, as also to the honourable part played by the Royal Dublin Society. Chapters which follow deal respectively with land purchase, with the Department of Agriculture, with the Congested Districts Board, and with the "I.A.O.S." A separate chapter also treats of the fisheries, in the revival of which both the Department of Agriculture and the Congested Districts Board have borne a share. There is no desire here to attempt to apportion credit among the different agents. The work of each is described by a contributor who is thoroughly familiar with the subject; and it may be that each takes some praise to the particular agency of which he writes which the others might be inclined to dispute. But there is credit enough for all; and our present business is not accurately to allot it, but to note the aggregate result of so much effort. What has been done amounts truly to an almost incredible revolution; nor is the work nearly finished.

Certain things also it is impossible not to say. One is that few countries have had more cause to be grateful to a single man than Ireland has for gratitude to Sir Morace Plunkett. Another is a word of tribute to the admirable work which has been so unostentatiously done by the Land Commission.

CHAPTER I

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"THE purpose of the . . . Act is to establish an Irish Department of State so constituted as to be representative at once of the Crown, the recently created local government bodies of the country, and those classes of the people with whom its work is chiefly concerned ; and to give to this authority the function of aiding, improving, and developing the agriculture, fisheries, and other industries of Ireland in so far as may be proper to such a department and in such manner as to stimulate and strengthen the self-reliance of the people."—*First Annual Report of the Department.*

An institution which occupies a unique and commanding position in the life of modern Ireland is that whose meaning is summed up in the above compact and characteristic sentence—the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. It is commonly spoken of as "the Department" *tout court*, chiefly because, before its time, Irish Government bodies were mostly "Boards" directed by groups of "Commissioners" more or less responsible, through the Castle and the Chief Secretary, to Parliament, whereas this was a full-fledged State Department, organized on the modern pattern, with a Ministerial head, a permanent head, and the rest of the hierarchy. In this way, as in many other ways, the Department came as an innovation into Irish public life.

The constitution of the Department is peculiar. It is advised by a series of bodies which are mainly elective. Thus, there is a Council of Agriculture, numbering 103 members, which consists of two mem-

bers elected by each county council in Ireland, making two-thirds of the body in all, the remaining one-third being nominated by the Department. The Council has two functions. Ordinarily it is an advisory body to discuss any matter of public interest relating to the purposes for which the Department was founded; but every third year it acts as a sort of electoral college to help in the constitution of two further bodies, the Boards, through which the Department works.

These bodies have control of funds, and, therefore, have direct responsibility for much of the policy of the Department, as well as having advisory functions. One is the Agricultural Board, which consists of twelve members, two-thirds of whom—two for each province—are elected by the council, the remaining four being nominated by the Department. Such portion of what is called the "Endowment Fund" of the Department as is applicable to the development of "agriculture and other rural industries," including fisheries, comes under the purview of this Board. The other Board—the Board of Technical Instruction—whose business is mainly concerned with technical instruction as related to industries other than agriculture, is composed on a different plan. The Council of Agriculture elects only four members to this Board, one from each provincial committee; eleven members are elected by the principal municipal councils of the country, one is appointed by the Commissioners of National Education, one by the Intermediate Education Board, and four are nominated by the Department—twenty-one, in all, *plus* the Vice-President, or Minister, of the Department, who is *ex-officio* chairman of both Boards. Besides these bodies there is established by statute in each county and in each urban district in Ireland a committee appointed by the local authority called the Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (in the counties), or the Technical Instruction Committee (in the towns), which is intended to see to the local administration of the schemes approved by the Department. These committees consider their schemes of agriculture and technical instruction every year with the assistance of inspectors of the Department. The schemes are submitted to the Department and

its respective Boards and co-ordinated with the policy of the country as a whole, with due allowance for local freedom and initiative, and when sanctioned by the Department are put in force by the committee and are subject to the Department's regular inspection and audit. By this means is secured a combination of local initiative and responsibility with central leadership and supervision.

The constitution of the Department bears upon its face the unmistakable stamp of its origin; and its origin was noteworthy. It did not originate with the Cabinet at Downing Street. It stands for a higher and more original act of statesmanship on the part of a British Minister than the fabricating of something to his own fancy and getting it accepted with more or less good grace by the Irish representatives. Mr. Gerald Balfour, who has won a place in Irish history if for this legislation alone, found during his Chief Secretaryship that a body of Irishmen of unusual representativeness had formulated in a comprehensive report a scheme "for the establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Industries for Ireland." This was a body consisting of men of different parties, Unionist and Nationalist M.P.'s, leading representatives of agriculture and industry, educationists and public men of various kinds, northerners and southerners, who formed themselves, at the invitation of Mr. Horace Plunkett, into a committee with a view to considering whether there was not some useful work for Ireland which they might promote in common without prejudice to the party issues which divided them. The committee was assembled during a Parliamentary recess, and thus came to be known as the Recess Committee. Mr. Gerald Balfour took the scheme which this body, after a year of study at home and abroad, had prepared, and adapted it so as to fit it in with another great act of Irish legislation, which stands to his credit and which had been passed into law since the Recess Committee had reported—viz. the Local Government Act of 1898, which revolutionized the whole system of county and municipal administration in Ireland as completely as the series of Land Acts have altered the economic basis of Irish society. The members of the Recess Committee,

belonging as they did to every party, were able to secure for Mr. Balfour's Bill creating the Department a reception seldom accorded to an Irish measure, the support of Unionists and Nationalists with scarcely an exception north or south. The convener and chairman of the Recess Committee, now Sir Horace Plunkett, became the first Vice-President, or Minister, of the new Department—an office which he filled until some time after the change of Government of seven years ago; another member of the committee, the honorary secretary, Mr. T. P. Gill, became the first Permanent Secretary of the Department—an office which he still holds. These two men and Mr. Gerald Balfour are regarded in Ireland as the founders of the Department.

The fund called the Endowment Fund, already referred to, which is administered with the advice of the two Boards and from which come the grants for the schemes managed by local authorities, amounts to some £166,000, which is made up as follows:

Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Ireland	£78,000
Irish Church Temporalities Fund (subject to reduction)	70,000
Equivalent of Salaries of Irish Judgeships abolished, etc.	12,000
Equivalent of Expenses of Glasnevin and Munster Institutions (hitherto paid through Board of National Education)	6,000
	<u>£166,000</u>

To this sum there has been transferred from the funds of the newly constructed Congested Districts Board a sum of £19,000 for the purposes of agricultural schemes exclusively in the Congested Districts. The above items, it will be seen, all come from Irish funds save the first one, and the first one represents the Irish proportional equivalent of what is familiarly known as the "beer and spirit money" which in Great Britain was given direct to the local authorities. This fact it is important to realize both for its financial and its administrative significance. The "beer and spirit money" that went to the British local authorities for technical and agricultural education, amongst other purposes, amounted to nearly £2,000,000, and it

went to these purposes in Great Britain ten years before it was applied to the purposes of technical instruction in Ireland. Moreover, it went to the British local authorities without any conditions such as attach to the Irish equivalent. In Ireland every local authority, county or urban, must raise moneys from its own rates before it is entitled to receive any contribution from the funds of the Department, the contributions from the two sources being bulked in a joint fund for the local schemes approved in the manner already described. The British local authorities were, and still are, free to deal with these funds without any provision for central supervision or any obligation to raise contributions from the rates for the purpose. One consequence of this arrangement has been, as is generally admitted, great waste and much overlapping of expenditure for this purpose on the part of local authorities. The Irish plan of holding up the funds in the hands of a central department on conditions of central supervision and local contribution secures co-ordination, common policy, and economy in a high degree, and it mainly accounts for the greater show which Ireland has been able to make with what is really a much smaller fund, a show which has led in many minds to the idea that more money has been given to Ireland for this purpose than to England or Scotland. It is well to get that idea out of our heads.

The further funds of the Department are the usual Parliamentary vote for the maintenance of its staff and for the other purposes of a State Department of its kind. Here, too, it is useful to note that the vote with which the Irish Department's is properly to be compared is not that of the Board of Agriculture alone, but also the vote of the Board of Education. Large items, for example, on the Department's vote are the Science and Art grants, which go to the secondary and technical schools and evening continuation schools, and the votes for the maintenance of the Science and Art institutions, of which we have all the equivalents in England and Scotland, such, for example, as the Royal College of Science, the National Library, the National Museum, the Royal Botanic Gardens, and so forth.

The work of the Department is not exclusively a new creation. Although the Act created new powers and new machinery, its aim was also to bring order and simplicity into branches of administration where correlated action was not provided for before. Thus, a number of functions relating to agriculture and industry which had been scattered amongst other departments were brought together and transferred to the new body; such as—amongst others—the powers of the Veterinary Department from the Privy Council, agricultural statistics from the Registrar-General and the Land Commission, the Irish Science and Art grants and institutions from South Kensington, and the Fishery administration from the Castle. The branches which the Department organized for the discharge of these and for its new functions are (1) Agriculture, including Forestry; (2) Technical Instruction; (3) Fisheries; (4) Statistics and Intelligence; (5) Veterinary, (6) Accounts. Each branch is manned by a specially qualified staff, and is in a position to concentrate its entire energy and expert skill upon its special task as if it were a distinct department in itself, while at the same time, to quote the words of the first annual report, "its work is brought into harmony with the general purposes of the Act and gains from having behind it the resources of the whole Department." Amongst the institutions of Science and Art taken over and administered now by the Department are the Royal College of Science (in which it has developed its system of higher technical instruction in relation to agriculture and other industries), the Metropolitan School of Art (which is concerned with the artistic side of higher technical instruction), the National Museum, the National Library, and the Royal Botanic Gardens, all of which assist in various ways the educational work of the Department. Elsewhere in this volume more detailed accounts are given of subjects which come within the scope of its action. Thus, there is a special article on Technical Instruction and another on Art Education and the Metropolitan School of Art, and there are accounts of the horse-breeding, the Live Stock, the Dairying Industries, and also of the Fisheries. Some of these accounts deal wholly with

what is the Department's work and all of them are more or less concerned with it. It will not be necessary here, therefore, to dwell more particularly on the subjects thus disposed of. It is enough to point to them as belonging to the Department's sphere of influence, and to refer the reader to other chapters. Even in considering the Congested Districts Board it has to be borne in mind that a certain part of the work that is within the sphere of influence of that body is done by the Department—*e.g.* all the work of agricultural development and education for the "congested" and the new holders in the old and in the new Congested Districts. It would be impossible in any case to convey in a short essay a really comprehensive idea of the varied work of this remarkable institution of government, and we shall best fulfil our purpose here by emphasizing only one or two leading features which are not dwelt upon elsewhere.

The first of these is its scheme of agricultural education. All the features of its scheme of technical instruction described in the chapter on that subject—*e.g.* itinerant instruction, progressive courses at fixed centres, the residential schools, and higher institutions for the training of experts and teachers—have their counterparts on the agricultural side. Instruction, too, for both sexes is included. Thus there is teaching in rural domestic economy, dairying, and poultry-keeping for girls and women, and institutes in which the teachers of these subjects are trained. In each county there is now at least one highly trained agricultural instructor—trained by the Department in their Royal College of Science, with its farm at Glasnevin—and in several counties there are more than one of these experts. Cork, in its keenness for agricultural instruction, recently reduced the grants which were being applied to agricultural shows in order to increase the number of agricultural instructors, and it has now six working in different parts of the county. The duties of these men are to give itinerant lectures to farmers, to lay out and conduct, for the purpose of illustrating their instruction, a series of demonstration plots, and in the winter time to conduct systematic courses of instruction, extending over a period of about five

months, to young farmers. These latter courses are called Winter Agricultural Classes, and are one of the most successful forms of agricultural education within the Department's system. The county agricultural instructors also are responsible for supervising the series of field experiments which are carried out, generally with the aid of young farmers who have been trained at the winter classes, and which form part of a well co-ordinated series of experiments by which the Department has brought together a mass of valuable and tested information relating to the practice and science of agriculture. Owing to the central co-ordination governing this series of experiments they are, it has been said, one of the most valuable series of the kind furnished by any country. The central co-ordination is provided mainly at the Royal College of Science (and its annexe, the Agricultural College at Glasnevin), where the seed-testing station is established and where the staff of scientific men engaged upon research and investigation chiefly work. The agricultural instructors in the counties also deal with the administration of Acts, like the Weeds and Seeds Act and the Fertilizers and Feeding Stuffs Acts, mainly intended for the protection of the farmer against fraud in the purchase of his requirements.

There are several residential agricultural schools and agricultural institutes where pupils spend at least a year, and sometimes two, under instruction, and the Department has during the past few years been experimenting, in co-ordination with the National Board, upon the extension of a certain form of agricultural instruction suited to the senior pupils of rural primary schools. Besides the county agricultural instructors there are county horticultural instructors whose main concern is with the cottagers, the labourers, and the small farmers. Each county committee has a scheme under which the establishment of cottage gardening, the planting of fruit trees, the cultivation of suitable varieties of vegetables is promoted and assisted under the guidance of the horticultural instructor. There are prizes, too, for the best-kept cottages, plots, and small farms, and there are local agricultural shows in which competition in

the best varieties of produce resulting from the instruction is actively stimulated. There are special schemes for developing the fruit industry and the poultry industry, as well as, of course, the dairying industry, which is spoken of elsewhere. And there are the extensive schemes for the improvement of the breeds of horses and other live stock.

A striking fact about all this system is that the appreciation of its value seems steadily to grow in the country from year to year. The numbers of pupils attending the itinerant courses, winter classes, and the schools not only keep up, but steadily increase, as is seen in the case of technical instruction. It is not hard for the traveller in Ireland who comes in contact with the committees locally interested in this work to detect a note of enthusiasm which is at once the explanation and the guarantee of its success. This note was also evident in another branch of the Department's work which came under the stress of a crisis during the past year. To any one who moved about the country and met the Department's officers of the Veterinary Branch who were engaged in the arduous task of suppressing the outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease the evidence of the *esprit de corps* and devotion to duty was impressive. Their tone was that of keen soldiers on active service, and no doubt the success achieved in stamping out the disease so promptly was largely due to this spirit. Another of the features worth dwelling upon, for it may contain a lesson for us in Great Britain, is the spirit and scope of the Department's educational work as a whole.

The Department was called on to organize specifically a system of technical instruction related to agriculture and other industries, but from the first it took hold firmly of the fact that the education of a country must be considered as a whole. Furthermore, it seems to have realized the profound truth that the most vital part of even general education is missed if regard is not had to the vocation in life for which the pupil receiving it seems naturally destined. With these two facts in mind it proceeded to organize its system, and it announced in its first annual report that for the results it hoped to achieve it depended most of all upon its work in education. However

other means might lead to disappointment, a proper system of education could not have such a tendency. And a proper system of education it defined as one which, "while paying due heed to the training of the character and the will, will train the intelligence to deal with concrete things as well as with ideas and which will give to the generation receiving it skill and knowledge that will bring out and make it conscious of its own powers and resources in practical affairs."

It established relations with the grades of primary and secondary and higher education, and with the authorities having to deal with them. It entered the secondary schools itself as the administrator of the Science and Art grants, for which it devised a new code of regulations that made these grants far more adaptable to the needs of Irish schools. And in entering the secondary schools it took care to emphasize the fact that it came as a friend of the humanities.

"The Department does not desire that Ireland at this period of transition in her educational history should fall into the mistake which, it is beginning to be recognized, has been committed elsewhere, of under-estimating the value of the human and ethical parts of education even in the direct production of utilitarian results."

The whole of the introductory part of this first annual report from which these citations are made is an interesting State paper, and will repay reading by the modern educationist, in the light of the work done within the past twelve years on the principles thus laid down.

An idea of the extent of the work achieved may be gathered from some figures mentioned in a recent address of the Secretary of the Department. Referring to the schemes of technical and agricultural instruction in its various types, he said :

"To-day we have 43,000 pupils receiving this teaching on the technical instruction side and on the agricultural side 49,000 pupils, making a total of 92,000. This is exclusive of the 18,000 in secondary schools who receive the courses of science, drawing

manual instruction, and domestic economy. This 92,000 is perhaps a respectable increase to have made on the 18,000 pupils previously receiving instruction after the primary grade."

Of the corps of teachers which the Department has trained in the various vocational subjects the following figures give an idea: On the agricultural side it has trained 359, all of whom, with the exception of six, are employed in Ireland. On the technical instruction side some 450 have been trained, of whom 410 are now employed in Ireland. Besides these—and here is an instance of co-ordination with other educational bodies—there are upon the Department's register of secondary teachers of science and drawing about 5,300 names, about 4,000 of whom have received direct training in these subjects in some form from the Department. That is, the Department has trained about 4,000 teachers of science and drawing for intermediate schools, and for the national or primary schools it has trained in special subjects, such as experimental science, domestic economy, drawing, rural science, including school gardening, either in summer courses or at technical centres, over 900 teachers for the National Board. That means that over 5,700 teachers have been trained and set to work in subjects mainly vocational or vocational in their bearing within a curiously short time. Here again the organic unity on which the Department lays stress in its statement of principles becomes evident, and we seem to get a light upon a problem that keeps continually reappearing in connexion with educational administration.

The obvious suggestion which a superficial examination produces is the idea that all educational work should be grouped together and entrusted to the care of a single Educational Department. But facts and the nature of things again and again come up and interfere with that arrangement. Quite recently we have seen the Board of Education in England part with the work of agricultural and technical instruction, which it had been actively endeavouring to organize, and hand it over to the Board of Agriculture. If we look to Continental experience we see that several

countries, France amongst them, tried for a time the obvious idea of putting everything that could be labelled education under one department, and we have seen that in each instance facts and the nature of things compelled them to go back on this arrangement and hand over agricultural education and technical education to agricultural and technical departments, arranging, of course, for an effective co-operation between those departments and the other bodies dealing with education. In Ireland, under the Department, we have seen the plan of the separate system tried and proving a marked success, and we have seen it producing its results without derangement 'to the work of other educational authorities, but on the contrary in close co-operation with them and to the advantage of all.

We have to omit from this account several important branches of the activity of the Department besides those which are described elsewhere. For instance, we cannot describe its interesting Forestry operations, which follow the lines of a scheme devised by a special Irish Departmental Committee on Forestry, which made exhaustive inquiry before fixing on its plan: nor can we describe its Statistics and Intelligence Branch, from which have issued in recent years the Imports and Exports returns and other publications, and from which are directed various economic inquiries and investigations; nor can we refer to the series of operations conducted in Great Britain as well as in Ireland for the prevention of fraud in the trade with Irish produce; nor to the work of exploiting the interests of Irish produce in the markets; nor to the system of its Veterinary Branch which was so much in evidence during the past year; nor to a score of other channels in which its energies are directed. We trust, however, we have said enough to convey an idea of the important function which this institution has to fulfil in modern Irish life and of the thoroughness with which it discharges its task.

CHAPTER II

THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD

THE Bill which Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, while Chief Secretary for Ireland, introduced in 1891 was chiefly remarkable because it was the first attempt on the part of the State to improve by direct measures the condition of those very small landholders on the western fringe of Ireland whose holdings in themselves were not adequate for the support of the families living on them. These were the people who, themselves or their predecessors, suffered from hunger from 1822 down to 1890 whenever their potato crops were seriously blighted or diseased; and it was from these districts of West Donegal, West Mayo, West Galway, West Kerry, and West Cork that land agitation began to spread to other parts of Ireland. It was said in the first report of the Congested Districts Board about the poorest of the people within their area that "in 'a good year' they are little more than free from the dread of hunger, while a complete or partial failure of their crop involves as a consequence proportionately greater or less suffering from insufficient food."

In the months of October and November, 1890, Mr. Balfour visited the counties Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Donegal, and in a speech at Glenties on November 5, 1890, he indicated the effect that the tour had made upon his mind :

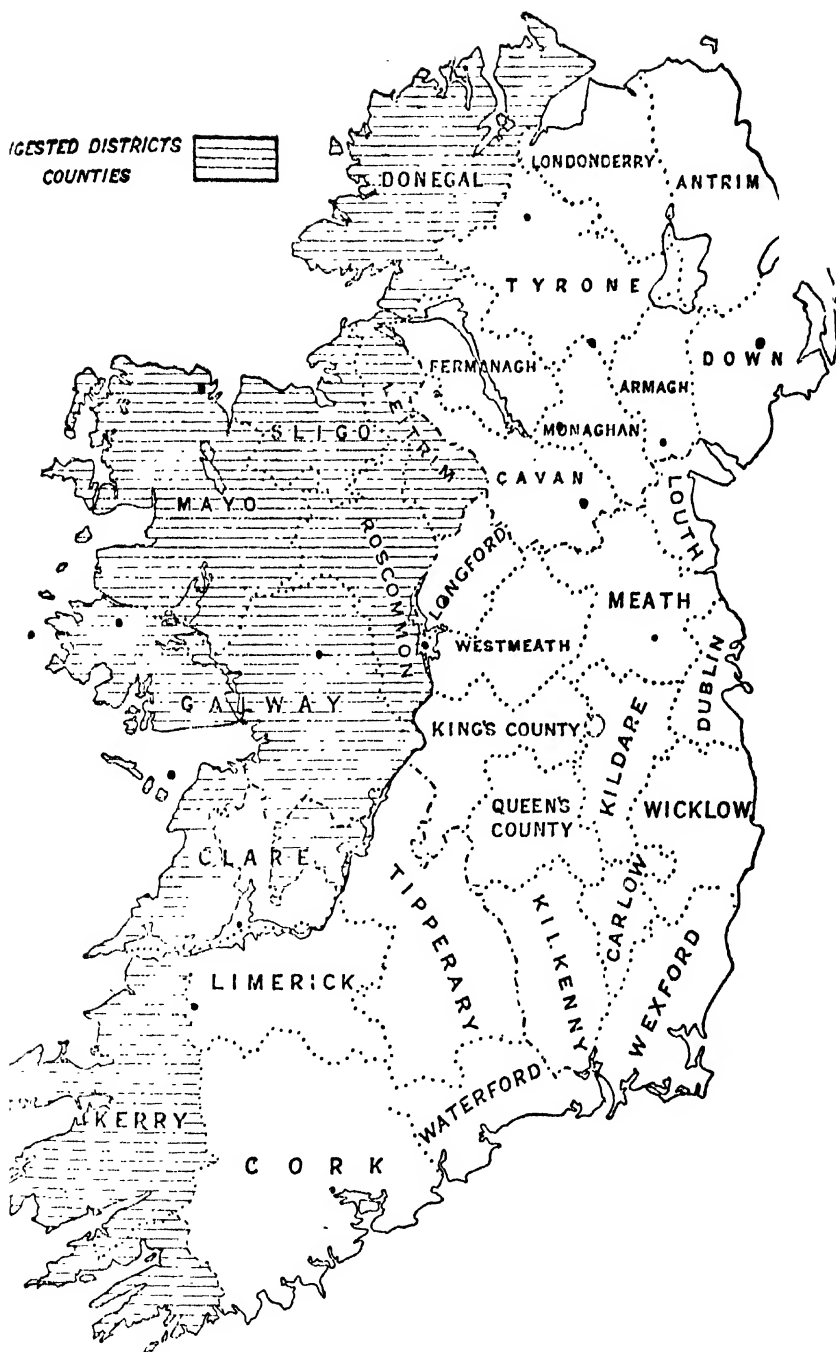
"The problem of the poorer parts of the West of Ireland is one that must press upon the attention of every man who has the good of Ireland at heart, whatever his politics may be, and I assure you it presses upon me. I hope that in a portion of the Land Purchase Bill which I trust will be passed by Parliament

this Session will be found for at least the poorer portions of Ireland, in germ at all events, machinery to meet some of the great evils which have been borne in upon my mind during my tour, and that it may do something to remove from our statesmanship the reproach that it cannot meet the material wants of the Irish people."

In the Land Purchase Act which received the Royal Assent on August 5, 1891, the Congested Districts Board was established and was endowed with an annual income of £41,250, being interest at 2½ per cent. per annum on a sum of £1,500,000, portion of the Irish Church surplus; and power was also given, subject to certain conditions, to apply for the purposes of the Act part of the capital sum of £1,500,000. The Board was entrusted with the widest discretionary powers to expend its income in improving the Congested Districts, general indications being given as to the various kinds of improvements that might be aimed at under the heads of agriculture, forestry, breeding of live stock and poultry, amalgamation of small holdings, migration, emigration, sea-fishing, weaving and spinning, and any other suitable industries. Subsequently the Board was empowered to purchase and re-sell land to tenants under the Land Purchase Acts, and this is now the main function of the Board, especially since the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1909. By this Act the Board's duties in connexion with agriculture, forestry, and the breeding of live stock and poultry were transferred to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and a sum of £19,000 a year was on this account deducted from the Board's income and transferred to the Department. Upon three occasions since 1891 the Board's income was increased, first by £25,000, next by a further grant of £20,000, making a total income of £86,250. At this amount the Board's income remained unchanged until, by the Act of 1909, it was further raised to £250,000 a year, less the sum of £19,000 a year transferred to the Department as already mentioned, so that the Board's present net income is £231,000 a year.

In 1891 considerable difficulty was felt by the Government in deciding what areas should be

CONGESTED DISTRICTS
COUNTIES



MAP OF IRELAND SHOWING THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS

included in or excluded from a "Congested District." Though the congested, or very poor, neighbourhoods were well known, it was found difficult to frame a definition that would specify them in the desired way. Ultimately the following provision or definition was included in the Act of 1891:

"Where at the commencement of this Act more than 20 per cent. of the population of a county, or in the case of the County Cork of either riding thereof, live in electoral divisions of which the total rateable value, when divided by the number of the population, gives a sum of less than £1 10s. for each individual, those divisions shall form a 'separate county (in this Act referred to as a Congested Districts county).'"

The result of this arithmetical ratio or test was on the whole satisfactory, having regard to what were the immediate objects of the Act at the time. But as soon as duties under the Land Purchase Acts were confided to the Board it was found inconvenient that all the lands in a neighbourhood or belonging to a particular estate should not be within the area assigned to the Board; and in other matters also inconvenience resulted from eccentricities in boundaries. By the Act of 1909 the area of the congested districts was more than doubled, as will be seen from the following table taken from the Board's last annual report:—

	Original Congested Districts in 1891.	Congested Area added in 1909.	Total Congested Districts in 1910.
Area in statute acres . .	3,608,569	4,049,545	7,658,114
Population in 1901 . .	505,723	616,718	1,122,441
Rateable valuation . .	£577,043	£1,794,871	£2,371,914

The original Congested Districts comprised detached electoral divisions in the counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, Kerry, and West Cork. The present Congested Districts include the *entire* counties of Donegal, Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Kerry, together with the rural districts of Castletownbere, Bantry, Skull, and Skibbereen in the West Riding of the County Cork, and

also the rural districts of Ballyvaughan, Ennistymon, Kilrush, Scariff, Tulla, and Kildysert in the County Clare. The population in the Congested Districts is mainly rural, the only towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants, according to the Census of 1911, being Galway (13,255), Sligo (11,163), and Tralee (10,300). The population of the whole congested area is mainly agricultural, in which are included shopkeepers and others whose business it is to supply the wants of those who hold land. The earnings of migratory labourers or harvestmen in Great Britain are a most important source of income in some districts of Donegal, Roscommon, and Mayo. Along the sea-coast many of the small farmers and their sons and daughters earn considerable though varying amounts annually by fishing and fish-curing and by kelp-making; and girls' earnings at lace-making and other cottage industries are by no means negligible in the poorest parts of the Congested Districts.

The various headings of the Board's work will now be taken up in order, and the methods and progress will be described briefly.

Although the Board always has had knowledge of what was being done in its name and with its money for the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and the breeds of live stock and poultry, yet the actual work was not done in its offices, but through the agency of another public department—for eight years through the agricultural branch of the Land Commission, and for the seven years preceding the passing of the Act of 1909 through the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The initiation of improvement schemes under these heads sprang from the branch or department acting as agent, and the supplying of the necessary funds for such schemes, as approved or modified, was the function of the Board. It is a matter of controversy how far the schemes for improving the scientific knowledge of agriculture were of use, but efforts were made on a considerable scale, by means of "example holdings" and "example plots" and "experimental plots," to give instruction in agriculture. It is too often the habit of a succeeding generation to belittle the progress made by its predecessor, just as, in climbing upwards, it is easier

to criticize the progress that has been made along the route below than to feel sure of the next upward steps through the untraversed snow. It seems certain, however, that much good must have been done through the agricultural instruction given by the Board through its agents. It is at all events certain that the agricultural branch of the Land Commission and the Board deserve the greatest credit for spreading widely a knowledge of the spraying of the foliage of potatoes as a preventive of potato disease. The Royal Dublin Society was the first public body to undertake some experiments in potato-spraying in Ireland, and in 1894 and the following years considerable sums were expended by the Board, with the result that spraying soon "became general.

As regards forestry, the only effort on a large scale was at Knockboy, near Carna, on the Connemara coast, and the Board was not responsible for this undertaking. Before the creation of the Board, Knockboy had been acquired by the Irish Government for forestry purposes, and the preliminary draining of the deep bog was started as a "relief work." On the passing of the Act of 1891 the Government handed over to the Board Knockboy, which is a couple of miles from the sea, and is a hillside facing south-west and open to the full strength of the Atlantic storms. It was said at the time that if planting were successful at Knockboy it would be successful anywhere. The undoubted failure of the experiment simply proves that forestry operations are not likely to be successful in such an unfavourable situation as Knockboy.

In a great number of cases shelter-belts of trees were successfully planted on farms. The funds of the Board were not adequate for any extensive forestry operations, and such humble efforts, together with the planting of some fruit trees, were recognized as being as much as the resources of the Board were equal to.

Upon improving the breeds of live stock and poultry a sum of about £100,000 was spent by the Board during the years in which it was in charge of such operations. Of this amount about £60,000 was expended in connection with their horse-breeding schemes, and many breeds of horses, ponies, and asses were introduced by

the Board, a large number being Hackney sires. The introduction of Hackneys was severely criticized, and, in deference to a very wide disapproval of Hackneys, the Board modified their procedure in this respect. The statistics collected by the Board showed that the introduction of new blood resulted in better prices for foals and young horses.

Over £30,000 was expended during the same period in the purchase of bulls, rams, and boars—an expenditure that was most profitable and useful, with the exception of a small outlay on some delicately reared pure-bred bulls that were found to be unsuitable for the rigour of existence in rough, poor, and unsheltered districts in the extreme west of Ireland. About £10,000 were usefully expended in improving the breed of poultry, and in encouraging bee-keeping. In the case of poultry, as in cattle, it was found either useless or undesirable to introduce any breed that would not thrive on sparing diet and in unfavourable circumstances as regards weather and housing.

Various other miscellaneous schemes were undertaken, including the making of grants of over £2,000 in all in aid of the organization of co-operative agricultural banks. In addition to this grant, loans of money to serve as a nucleus of capital for such banks were made to the amount of nearly £6,000, of which over £5,000 still remains in the hands of the banks.

Before explaining what the Board has done for the enlargement and improvement of small holdings, it is necessary in the first place to try to describe what the rural conditions in the Congested Districts were in 1891 as regards tenure, physical circumstances, and resources. With respect to tenure, people who are accustomed to ordinary estates in Great Britain or the eastern part of Ireland will find it difficult to realize the peculiarities and complexity of tenures upon a very large number of estates in the Congested Districts. In ordinary estates elsewhere a farmer has so many adjacent fields in his farm, or he may have an outlying field or two besides, but in the Congested Districts, except where "striping," or rearrangement of holdings, has been carried out, tenants very frequently have not a compact farm within a ring-fence. Long ago, as the population increased, holdings of

land were divided and subdivided. On the occasion of a death or a marriage the farm was split up, not into two compact portions, but into a number of plots, or even unfenced ridges, according to the several qualities of arable land in the holding.

Numerous tenants hold more than thirty detached plots intermingled with similar plots belonging to their neighbours; and the position is often aggravated by different persons being joint tenants of undivided plots, and in some cases even the apparently insoluble difficulty arises of a tenant being the possessor of an undefined share of a plot. Such holdings have frequently, in addition, rights of turbary and of commonage grazing on a mountain or moor. An illustration is given by the Board in its eighth annual report showing how a holding of 9 acres and 20 perches was made up:

Plot.	A.	R.	P.
1	0	2	26
2	0	0	21
3	0	1	8
4	0	1	2
5	0	1	2
6	0	2	18
7	0	0	8
8	0	1	33
9	0	0	38
10	0	0	6
11	0	0	4
12	0	0	13
13	0	0	1
14	2	0	4
15	1	0	31
16	0	3	12
17	0	0	22
18	0	0	16
19	0	3	7
20	0	0	11
21	0	0	29
22	0	0	7
23	0	2	21
24			*
25			*
Total			<u>9 0 20</u>

* An undefined share of a plot.

When the Board buys an estate made up of holdings of the kind, either wholly or in part, such lands have

to be thrown into the melting-pot, so to speak, and be redivided into compact farms. This is known as "striping" (from the new straight fences), and in the past such operations when undertaken by landlords excited much opposition and frequently led to bloodshed. Where only the same extent of land was to be redivided one would naturally apprehend trouble, as some would gain and some would lose in the shuffling, or, even if an absolutely fair redivision could be made in stripes, each man would naturally fret at the loss of a favourite plot and think that no land he was getting would compensate him. If striping of this kind merely had to be undertaken by the Board success on a large scale could not be hoped for. What puts the Board in a favourable position for arranging and settling these involved holdings is that very often hitherto it has become the possessor of additional land, which enables it by migration and otherwise to offer undeniably enlarged and compact holdings in lieu of the former sporadic groups of plots and patches. In improving the tenure and arrangements of holdings the Board is also able to improve other physical circumstances.

The tenants as a rule have insanitary houses; their farm fences and their roads are insufficient; and in very many cases their lands are not so circumstanced with regard to arterial drainage as to admit of the making of farm drains to prevent flooding and to enable swampy land to be reclaimed and made profitable. The Board assists tenants to build new or to improve existing houses that are capable of being made sufficiently good; necessary roads and fences are constructed; and, as far as circumstances and financial resources permit, arterial drains are made. All such improvements are appreciated by the tenants, who have the further inducement of earning wages while general improvement works are being undertaken. In the case of houses each tenant is required to join with the Board in the erection of houses on his own farm, supplying labour and carts, and also materials such as stone and sand that he can himself obtain locally without cost by his own labour. Either the gift of additional land or the carrying out such improvements as are now indicated helps to

smooth the difficulties that arise in "striping," and in many cases all these inducements at the same time are available. The Board's limitation is the extent of its financial resources, and frequently less than is desirable is all that can be done, as in dealing with each estate only a certain percentage can be allowed for irrecoverable expenditure.

For very many of the poorest estates in the extreme western fringe of the Congested Districts comparatively little can be done agriculturally for the holdings except by the improvement of houses and by the difference in a tenant's favour between his rent and the repayment instalment after purchase. In the belt of country along the seacoast there is hardly any untenanted land, or land let on terminable tenure, that could be used for the enlargement of holdings, nor as a rule is land drainage in the same deplorable condition that it is in many inland districts. But the improvement of their dwellings will be a great benefit, and such people can in many cases be further helped by the development of fisheries and cottage industries. It was the condition of such estates, as much as if not more than that of any others, which led to the establishment of the Board; and a due regard for the decency of human existence makes it imperative that the improvement of districts like Connemara and Erris should not be delayed, even though more satisfactory and showy results can be obtained in Roscommon, East Mayo, and East Galway, where good untenanted land can be obtained in large though perhaps not sufficient quantities for the enlargement of neighbouring small holdings and for farms to be occupied by migrants from other inland Congested Districts. It cannot, however, be hoped that many people living on the seashore will go to live fifty miles or so inland.

The results so far in the inland districts where untenanted land was acquired are surprising. Large tracts of grazing land are now cut up into farms with good, comfortable, healthy houses and out-offices. Those who were well acquainted with the districts before the Board began its work are amazed at the transformation in the face of the country. Practically uninhabited prairies of twelve years ago are now

studded over with houses to which are attached well-planned and in many cases already well-worked farms. Sites for schools and teachers' residences have also been reserved where it seemed desirable, and in some cases the school buildings have already been erected in localities where numerous migrants have been settled. The procedure of the Board has been to induce as far as possible the most successful tenants in a crowded district where holdings are very small to surrender to the Board their old holdings and to migrate to a new house and a larger farm at some distance. The surrendered holdings are then used to enlarge the holdings of the tenants who are not removed, and in this way an object of the first Act of 1891, the amalgamation of holdings, is achieved, though not in the way it was intended at the time. It was then thought that tenants could be induced to sell their holdings and leave their land to be added to the farms of those who remained behind. In practice it was, however, found that only the inducement of better farms would cause tenants to give up their old farms, and at first it was found exceedingly difficult to induce any tenants to go away from their own immediate neighbourhood. Emigration of families was from the beginning found to be worse than useless, and the remedy of migration, specifically mentioned in the first Act of 1891, was inoperative until the Board was empowered to purchase entire estates and untenanted land under subsequent amending Acts of Parliament.

But it should be clearly understood that comparatively little land has so far been finally dealt with by the Board. Operations have, however, been conducted on a sufficiently large scale to enable a sound judgment to be arrived at as to the Board's methods. Future progress on similar lines will be more rapid, as additional valuers, inspectors, and surveyors have been and are being trained. The necessary increase of the administrative staff was not possible until the Board's income was increased by the Act of 1909; and the additional income was also necessary to meet the percentage of loss that must be incurred in carrying out improvements in holdings before re-sale to the tenants. To illustrate this roughly

in figures we will assume that property to the value of £1,000,000 is purchased by the Board; improvements of various kinds already specified may be estimated to cost £200,000; and tenants, when the property is re-sold to them, can be asked to pay no more than £1,100,000, having regard to what would be a fair rent for the land and to what would be considered good security to the State for the amount advanced to the tenants for the purchase of their holdings. The deficiency on re-sale would thus be £100,000, and this loss comes out of the Board's annual income. The remaining sum of £100,000 is lent to the Board on short loans by the State as an improvement loan, and repayment is made in a few years on the re-sale of the property to the tenants, the interest on this advance being also defrayed out of the Board's income.

Just now it appears that the official staff of the Board's Estates Branch is chiefly employed in valuing, inspecting, and surveying land for purchase rather than in discharging similar duties in the rearrangement and re-sale of estates; but as soon as a sufficient stock of land has been purchased the improvement and division of the lands can be carried out far more rapidly than heretofore owing to the increase in the number of trained officials.

In the early years of the Board's work progress was impossible owing to an insufficient income and to a want of borrowing power for capital to carry out improvement works in so far as such capital would be repayable on the re-sale of the lands.

The following table shows what has been done hitherto by the Board with reference to estates:

TABLE OF ESTATES PURCHASED

	Area in Acres.	Purchase Money.
Under Act of 1891 . . .	6,797	18,618
From 1891 to 1903 . . .	163,032	541,393
Under Act of 1903 . . .	327,655	1,700,540
Totals	497,484	2,260,551

Figures in full detail have not yet been published as to purchases under the Act of 1909, but it appears from the annual report of the Land Commission and the Estates Commissioners for the year ending March 31, 1912, that the total amount of guaranteed 3 per cent. stock advanced to the Board for the purchase of estates to that date was £235,593.*

The purchases under the Act of 1891 were made in cash out of the Board's income. From that Act to the Act of 1903 payments were made, as is shown in a later chapter, in stock, the net price of which on the whole was at a premium, and the net result financially was therefore better for the Board than a cash payment. Under the Act of 1903, by which the payments to landlords were in cash, with a 12 per cent. bonus in addition, the Board would have made far larger purchases if its income had been adequate for dealing with transactions on a large scale. Under the Act of 1909, as we have seen, payments to landlords in stock were reverted to; and the fact that this stock is at a discount of about 20 per cent. naturally retards progress, but a statement was recently made in the House of Commons by the Government that arrangements are contemplated for improving the present situation. Such a change is undoubtedly desirable, as payment in a stock depreciated to the extent of 20 per cent. cannot be regarded as satisfactory by persons selling their properties, and an increase in price to make up for the depreciation cannot be made without the tenants' consent, as they have to repay in cash the face value of the stock given to the landlords as the price of their estates.

Schemes ancillary to Land Purchase operations have been worked to a very large extent (at present at the rate of £20,000 a year) for the improvement of the dwelling-houses of tenants or tenant-purchasers with a valuation not exceeding £7 a year. The object of the scheme is to induce people to improve their houses and to build outhouses for cattle. The grants of the Board are intended to cover the cost of material or work that must be paid for in cash by a tenant; and, speaking generally, work to the value of five

* See Note at end of this Chapter.

times the Board's grant is done under the scheme to the satisfaction of the supervising officer. A grant out of the £20,000 is allocated by the Board to each parish in proportion to the number of holdings in it; and, subject to the Board's approval, it is administered by a committee composed of the clergy of all denominations, influential people such as rural district councillors, with others elected by the ratepayers in the parish. In almost all cases work is done smoothly and without any unpleasant friction.

The coastline of the Congested Districts stretches from the western side of Lough Foyle on the extreme north of Ireland along the entire western shore to a point a little to the east of Cape Clear. Along this coast the Board has rendered great assistance to the fisheries. The help given consists of practical instruction in fishing on boats under the charge of instructors paid by the Board, and in the commercial development of the fishing industry, in the provision of landing-places, in improving the methods of packing and curing fish, and in extending the market by improving transhipment facilities. The efforts of the Board, which are of a commercial nature, are directed towards increasing the earnings of fishermen in the Congested Districts by direct action leading to immediate results. The whole subject of the Irish sea fisheries, however, is dealt with in a separate chapter by another writer, and need not be further dwelt upon here.

The Board gives as much encouragement as it can to cottage and other such industries in the Congested Districts. Most of the earners are girls and women. In the lace and crochet classes, about seventy in number, a sum of more than £30,000 a year is earned, and, as the cost of thread and needles is very small, almost all of what is earned goes to the worker. The classes in the very poor districts are by far the largest earners, one heading the list with a little over £3,992 last year. Poverty there acts as a spur to industry, but besides the teacher of the class in question is a remarkably good saleswoman.

There are also knitting classes which at present earn particularly well, owing to the wearing of knitted golf coats, hats, and ties, etc., being fashionable. No

particulars of earnings can be given at these and some other kinds of classes, as the sales are in the hands of business firms with whose prices the girls appear to be satisfied.

Lace curtain classes are also conducted in Conne-mara, but at present the supply of work to be done is less than the girls are able to turn out. There may possibly be an opening for an extension of this business.

The tweed homespun industry is encouraged and assisted by the Board in the County Donegal and elsewhere in the Congested Districts. Genuine Donegal homespuns are altogether a home or cottage industry. The girls of the house card and spin the wool grown on their fathers' sheep; the tweed is woven by a neighbouring weaver in his own cottage, and the web or roll of tweed is taken by the man of the house to the local fair and sold to one of the tweed merchants. Complaints are made from time to time as to the use of machine yarn, but if any such short-sighted policy were adopted, it would soon cause the ruin of the industry, the charm of the tweed being its origin and process of manufacture. If machine-yarn were introduced the local tweed-makers would soon find out that they themselves had been found out, and that machine-made tweed could be got and would be got elsewhere more cheaply and just as good as in Donegal.

The Messrs. Morton, of Darvel, N.B., have opened four little carpet factories in the County Donegal, where most beautiful tufted carpets, that have a wide reputation, are made by Donegal girls. The wages in this industry, however, are not high, and the persons employed are chiefly young girls.

Domestic training classes in cooking, laundry, and domestic economy are held in the poorest parts of the Congested Districts, and the attendance at the classes is most satisfactory. "The course of instruction is," as one of the Board's reports mentions, "made as practical as possible, so as to have an influence on the pupils' homes, and if the girls subsequently go out to domestic service, as many of them do, the instruction given is such as to make them much better qualified for their work." Boys are also given instruc-

tion in carpentry, so that they may be "handy" in making and repairing articles in use in their homes or on the farms. In these classes, of course, neither girls nor boys receive any payment for their attendance.

Owing to the difficulty of getting fish barrels when required without delay, the Board started three cooperages for making barrels for their own use, but chiefly to supply curers whose stock runs short. Two of the cooperages have been closed, as one was found to be sufficient. It is now self-supporting, and its chief use perhaps is the training of local boys and young men as coopers, a large proportion of whom, when out of their apprenticeship with the Board, are employed at high wages by fish-curers.

The Board also encourages boat-building and the training of youths as ship carpenters. The Board has a yard of its own near Carrigart, County Donegal, at which sailing- and motor-boats are built. Assistance is also given to two other yards—one at Killybegs, County Donegal, and the other at Baltimore, County Cork. At all three yards young boys from various fishing villages are taught the trade, so that ultimately they may be useful in their own districts for building and repairing boats.

Since the Board began its work in 1891 it has spent a little over £100,000 in making piers, boat-slips, or other marine works (lists of which are issued from time to time) for providing landing facilities for fishermen. Most of the works are small, as may be gathered from the fact that their number is nearly 250, the expenditure on an average being about £400 each—an amount for which comparatively little can be done in sea work.

During the same period—that is, since 1891—a further sum of over £80,000 was spent in making roads and bridges for opening up backward parts of the country, and also in doing some land drainage.

The miscellaneous expenditure of the Board includes a sum of nearly £20,000 in subsidies to steamer services to Aran Island, Belmullet, West Donegal, Kerry, and Bantry Bay. A sum of nearly £2,000 has been spent in guaranteeing extensions of telegraph services and the opening of additional money-order offices. A sum

of £4,074 has been granted to assist the Countess of Dudley in providing residences for nurses in very remote parts of the country in which no district nurses had been stationed hitherto.

The meetings of the Board are held at least once a month, and it is an open secret that these meetings are harmonious and absolutely free from political or sectarian animosity. The Dublin offices of the Board are in Rutland Square. The Land Surveying Department's office is at Castlebar, and each senior inspector, of whom there are four, in charge of one or more counties, has an office at his headquarters.

NOTE (see page 243). --More recent returns of the Land Purchase operations of the Board, published since this chapter was written, show that in the last 2½ years more land has been purchased by the Board than during the previous nineteen years, and more than three times that amount has been offered for sale to the Board. The following table, taken from the Twentieth Report of the Board, shows clearly and in an interesting form the very rapid progress that is being made in the purchase of land in Congested Districts :

TABLE
Showing Land Purchase Transactions in Congested Districts
to December 1912.

Position of Estates.	Approximate Acreage	Purchase-money, or estimated Purchase-money.
		£
Purchased prior to Act of 1909 .	497,484	2,260,551
Offered for sale to Board under Act of 1909	1,792,268	7,051,372
Terms of sale agreed to under Act of 1909	610,703	2,599,898
Board's offers still pending under Act of 1909	431,630	1,312,720
Board's offers refused under Act of 1909	12,099	66,864
Cases in which Board decided not to make an offer	20,053	83,209
Estates valued, but offers not yet issued, or not yet valued . .	717,783	2,988,681

CHAPTER III

THE IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

No movement has effected greater changes in the character of rural life in Ireland than the movement for the co-operative organization of agriculture promoted by Sir Horace Plunkett. The material results achieved by twenty years of work are already impressive, though what has been done was done in face of great difficulties. The promoters of agricultural co-operation were pulling against the stream all the time.

The movement was launched in 1889, when Irish farmers were engaged in a passionate agitation for reforms in the system of land tenure, and both they and their leaders were suspicious of any new propaganda which, if successful, might make tolerable conditions which they were determined should end for ever. Sir Horace Plunkett has left it on record that he had fifty meetings barren of result before he was able to start the first co-operative dairy society in Ireland. It is very different to-day. The operations of the various Land Acts have cleared the way for a new agricultural policy. We may say the tide has turned, for everywhere in Ireland farmers are asking for the services of agricultural organizers. Twenty years ago the agents of the new movement found it difficult to get an audience; now the main difficulty is how to maintain a staff of organizers large enough to cope with the demands for their services.

The first co-operative association of farmers in Ireland came into existence in 1889. At the present date there are 955 societies with a membership of 97,000. The turnover of the movement in 1911 amounted to £2,666,483, and the total business trans-

acted by the societies since its inception amounts to £28,000,000. It is likely that in another generation by far the larger part of the business connected with agriculture will be carried on through co-operative associations.

The economic aspect of the movement is at the present time most important, though later on it is probable that the social and political effects of the organization of Irish agriculture will come to assume greater importance in the eyes of observers. At present the whole energies of the progressive farmers are being thrown into an effort to change the character of Irish agriculture by transforming it from a business conducted on retail lines to a business conducted on wholesale lines.

Twenty-five years ago hundreds of thousands of small farmers were managing hundreds of thousands of petty farming enterprises; buying their requirements at retail prices; making butter in small quantities, with innumerable varieties of flavours varying from week to week even on the same farm; selling produce in small lots by individual effort in local markets to a crowd of agricultural middlemen. No one was able to manufacture in large quantities. No one was able to take big contracts. No one was able to enter the market powerfully, either for purchase or sale. In every other industry in the modern world except agriculture the principle had found acceptance that where the buyer of raw materials was not the final consumer, but was buying to re-manufacture and sell again, he was entitled to trade terms. The least cobbler who buys leather to patch a shoe, the solitary artist buying colours and oils, the individual carpenter buying wood to make a chest—all can get their raw materials on trade terms. But the farmer was not recognized as a manufacturer. The workers in the greatest industry in Ireland were forced to buy fertilizers, feeding-stuffs, and machinery—the raw materials for their industry—at retail prices; while in sale they were expected to sell at prices which would ensure a comfortable living for a phalanx of middlemen. It was as ludicrous as if Messrs. Harland & Wolff were expected to buy nails and timber for their giant ocean liners on the same terms as the man who wanted to

erect a shed in his back garden. But this tradition of withholding from farmers the rights of manufacturers was continued in Ireland, to the great detriment of agriculture, until Sir Horace Plunkett returned after a long stay in America, and, with the big American way of dealing with industry fresh in his mind, began to teach Irish farmers that they must regard farming as a business and carry it on on the principles recognized in all successful modern industries. They must organize to buy in bulk on wholesale terms. They must combine to manufacture their produce in large quantities and uniform in quality; and they must also attack the market through their own agencies, and push the sale with the energy of self-interest.

Sir Horace Plunkett pioneered for a while with the aid of a few friends, Lord Monteagle, Sir Nugent Everard, Father Thomas Finlay, and Mr. R. A. Anderson, later the secretary of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, being the most notable. About thirty societies were formed. These new societies were clamorous for advice. The work of attending to already established societies and of organizing new associations soon became too great for a few volunteers, and in 1894 an appeal was made to the friends of Irish agriculture for an organizing fund, and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society was started. Since that date all the work of organization, advice, and supervision has been carried on by that body, which maintains a staff of five organizers, who are allotted districts in Ireland. The society has changed in character as the movement developed. At first it was controlled necessarily by the subscribers to its funds. Now the control of its policy is almost entirely in the hands of the elected representatives of the societies it has created.

The dairy associations bulk largely in the achievement of the I.A.O.S. The invention of the steam separator made it possible to centralize all the butter-making of a parish in one building. Instead of a couple of hundred farmers skimming cream, churning it, and marketing their butter separately in the local market to butter merchants, the whole milk supply of the district is brought morning and evening to a creamery, where the milk is weighed, then passed through the steam separators, and the skimmed milk

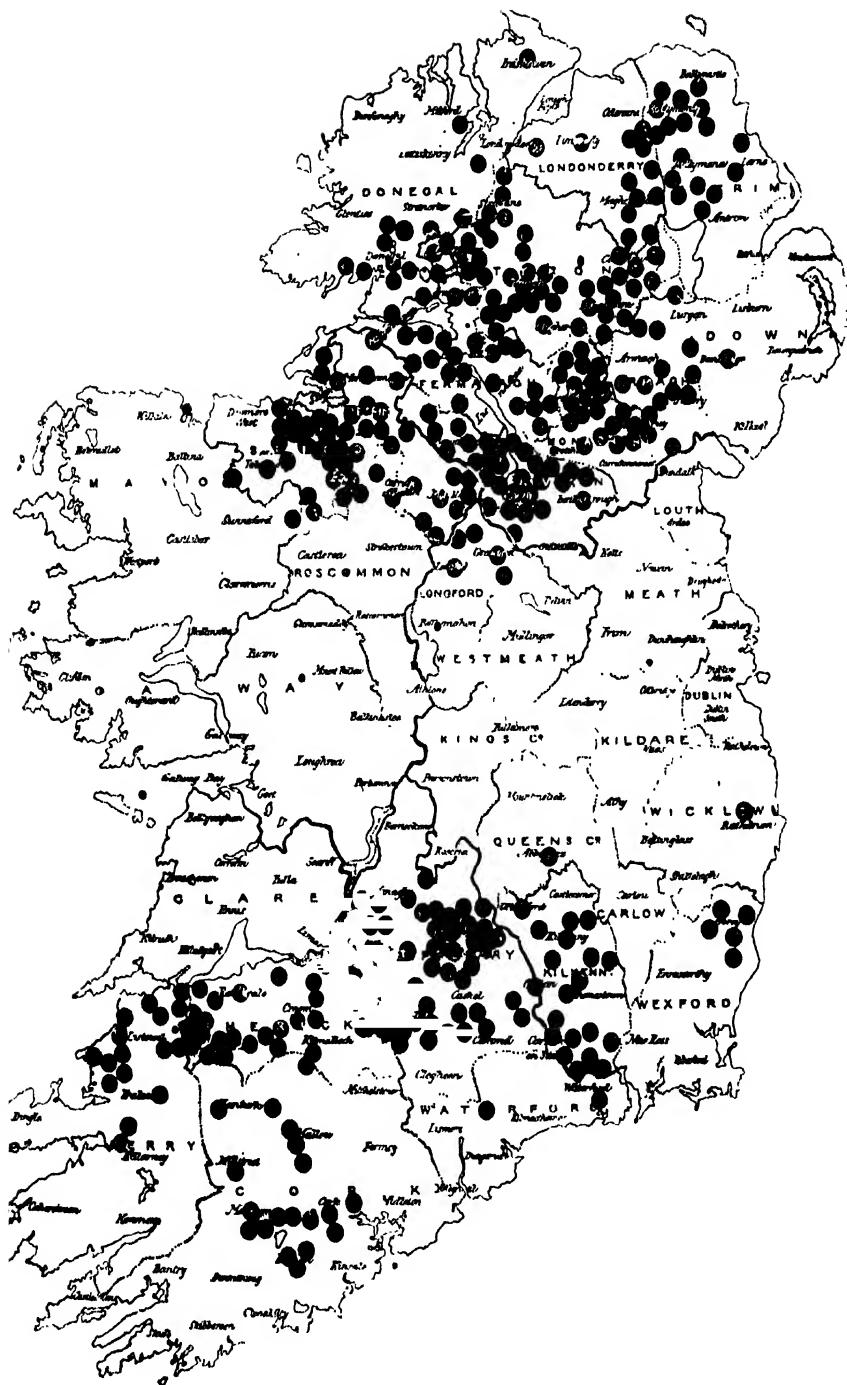


Fig. 1.—MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF CO-OPERATIVE CREAMERIES

returned to the farmers for feeding purposes. Every farmer's milk is tested, and he is paid for it on the basis of the percentage of butter fat revealed by the composite test. The payments are made monthly. Under the old system of setting the milk in pans and waiting for the cream to rise the separation was imperfect, and on an average it took three gallons of milk to make one pound of butter. The steam separator skimmed the cream more perfectly, and under the new system a pound of butter could be made from rather less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of milk. The butter made in the creamery is uniform in quality, and as it is made under better conditions, by skilled and certificated managers and dairymaids, it has better keeping qualities. Noxious microbes have not the same chances of setting up putrefaction in the butter as they had when the pans were put out of the way under the bed for the cream to rise. The creameries are one after another putting in pasteurizing plant, and an immense improvement has taken place in the flavour and keeping qualities of the butter.

A central creamery costs from £1,200 to £2,000 to erect and equip, and an auxiliary creamery from £600 to £1,000. In the auxiliary creameries the only operation carried on is the separating of the cream, which is then despatched to a central dairy, where it is churned. The money to erect and equip a creamery is raised by the farmers starting a co-operative society, which is registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. The shares are of the nominal value of £1. The usual plan is for farmers to take one share for every cow. As a rule not more than half the capital is called up. The joint-stock banks, under an arrangement made by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, will advance money to co-operative societies at four per cent. on overdraft. By this means the contractors for building and machinery are paid off, and the debt to the bank is paid out of the profits of the sale of butter, until in six or seven years' time the debt is wiped out, and the entire profits can be divided among the members in proportion to the value of the milk each has supplied to his society. The turnover of 326 central and 87 auxiliary creameries in Ireland last year amounted to £2,197,489. The mem-

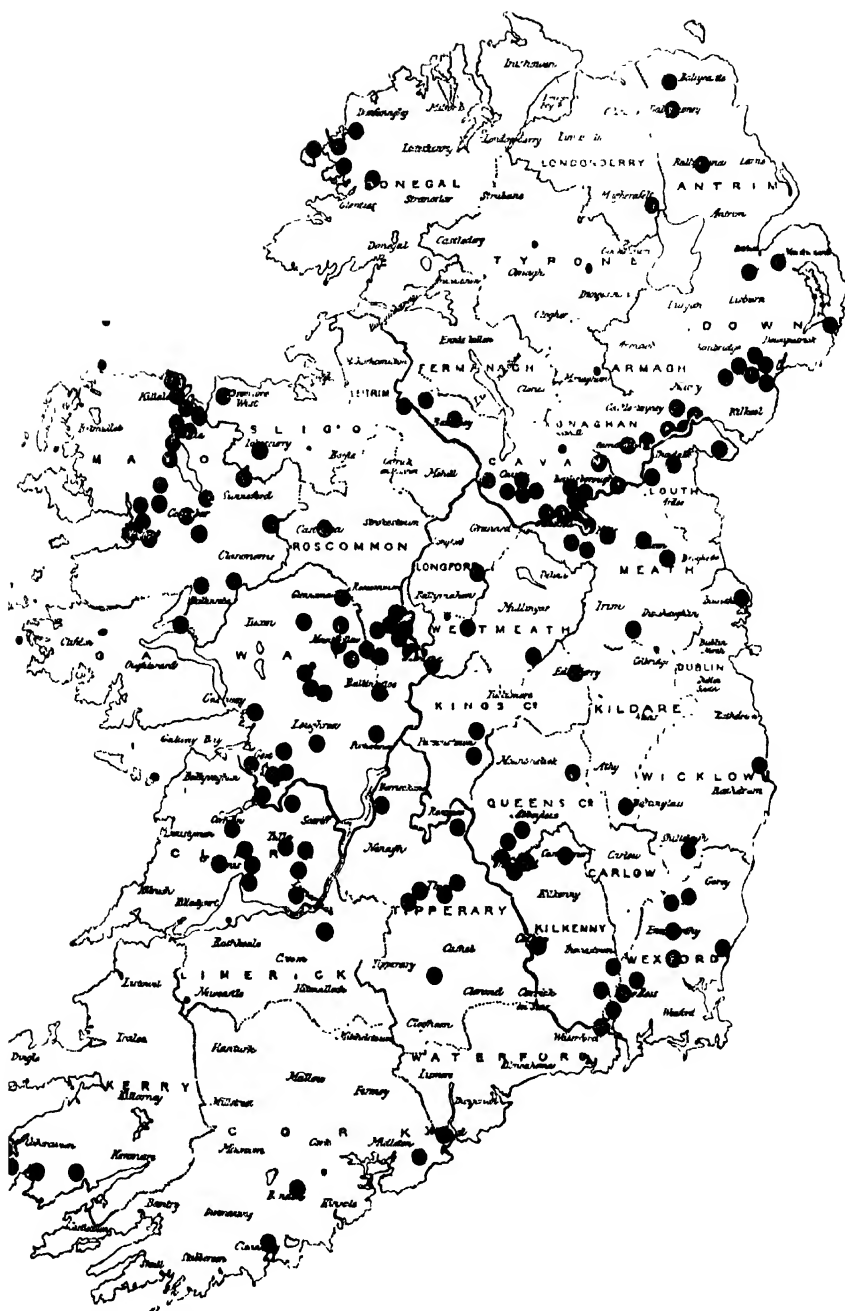


Fig. 2.—MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF CO-OPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

bership was 45,725. A number of the societies have lately formed an Irish Co-operative Butter Control, on the plan found so successful in Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. They submit to stringent regulations. They are closely watched by a dairy expert. Samples of the water used for washing the butter are tested, and if it is found to have impure germs in it membership of the Control is refused until the supply is purified. Samples of butter from every churning are forwarded to the central office and are tested for keeping qualities. If anything is wrong bacteriological investigation is made, and the society drops out of the Control until the cause of the bad flavour is discovered and the butter is up to the high standard set for members of the Control.

The agricultural societies, 171 in number, have a membership of 18,271, and their business last year was £129,199. Like the co-operative dairy associations, they are registered as industrial and provident societies, and their capital is raised in much the same way, only, instead of shares being taken in proportion to the number of cows, they are usually taken in proportion to the valuation of the holding of the member. These societies supply their members with seeds, feeding-stuffs, potatoes, machinery, and other agricultural requisites. They have a central federation of their own—the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society. In the spring the secretary of the local society finds out the requirements of each member, and the order for seeds or fertilizers is bulked together and is usually sent in to the federation, which, as it buys for hundreds of societies, is able to make contracts for them on the best terms. The smallest Irish farmer who is a member of an agricultural society can buy his fertilizers and feeding-stuffs as advantageously as the wealthiest farmer. The seeds supplied through the central federation are tested and doubly tested—a very necessary precaution in Ireland, where the supply of agricultural seeds is so dishonestly or so carelessly carried on that the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture announced last year that 60 per cent. of the agricultural seeds sold in Ireland—according to the tests made by the Department—were adulterated and unfit for use by farmers. The federation is also

beginning operations as a selling agency, and it sells honey, grain, eggs, and butter for its affiliated societies.

An important part of the work of the agricultural societies is the co-operative purchase of expensive machinery, which is held for the benefit of the members and hired out to them for their farming operations at low terms. The average Irish holding is about 25 acres, and such small farmers could never afford to buy threshing sets, corn cutters and binders, potato diggers, etc. The union of the members together makes this possible, and some societies now possess several thousand pounds' worth of machinery. They say it is machinery "got for nothing." Under the arrangement with the joint-stock banks already referred to the committee will borrow say £1,000 for a threshing machine, and will hire the machine out to their members. The money received for hire gradually pays off the overdraft, and the members have become possessors of the machines, as they put it, "for nothing." This portion of the work of agricultural societies is growing more popular, as the use of the machines enables the farmers to economize in the labour bill. In Limerick a body of small farmers raised £25 at the bank for the purchase of a corn-binder. The money earned by the hire of the binder bought two potato-diggers, and the diggers earned the price of a manure-distributor, and the last implement earned the price of a horse sprayer. These farmers now own upwards of £100 worth of machinery, and only owe the original loan of £25. Next year they will pay this off, and are contemplating the purchase of a power thresher, disk harrow, etc. The advantages of this kind of co-operation in a country of very small farmers is obvious.

The next associations to be considered are the co-operative poultry societies. They also are registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. These societies collect eggs from their members, test, and grade them. Then they are packed in the most approved manner and marketed in Great Britain, either directly by the society or through the agency of the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society. They also market chickens, geese, ducks, and turkeys. The number of societies engaged solely in this business is

eighteen, the membership is 5,879, and the turnover last year was £62,897. The turnover of the agricultural and poultry societies does not, however, truly indicate the extent of the business done either in agricultural requirements or in the sale of poultry or eggs, because a large and growing number of dairy societies have extended their operations so as to include these in the work they undertake. The tendency is for a society which has become successful to take up new work. A dairy society will procure seeds, fertilizers, feeding-stuffs, and implements for its members, and act not only as a butter factory but as an agricultural supply association, and sell the eggs and poultry of the members as well. The society which is successful in its first enterprise tends to become a general purposes society, and it is likely that in twenty-five years' time the entire agricultural business in every parish in Ireland will be carried on by one large well-managed association, which will buy, manufacture, and sell for its members. Such societies might have a turnover of from £50,000 to £100,000. They would be able to pay well for expert management, and the centralizing of a large number of petty farming and trading enterprises in a single large business concern could not but benefit agriculture. The estimate of such a trade for general purposes societies is not extravagant. Already some societies, trading both as agricultural, and dairy societies, have turnovers of close on £40,000 annually. The turnover of a dairy society might be anything from £5,000 to £30,000; agricultural societies ought to average £5,000; poultry societies vary from £3,000 to £8,000; and if the sale of live stock, barley, flax, and other crops is finally included, together with the provision of credit for the members, the estimate made of the possible turnover would be soon passed.

Agricultural co-operation in Europe has tended more to the specialization of the functions of the societies. Dairy, agricultural, cattle insurance, cow testing, and poultry associations, and the unions for the provision of credit are kept more apart on the Continent than they appear likely to be in the future in Ireland. By this fusing together of the functions of various societies we get in time to the true rural community—a modern counterpart of the ancient clan, only

instead of the communal ownership of land, which was the basis of many clans, the new rural associations will be inspired by the principle of community of effort. Already, while these co-operating communities are in the early stages of development, they begin to manifest some of the characteristics one expects from the fully organized clan. We will speak of these later.

Great importance is attached by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society to the starting of agricultural credit societies. There were at the close of last year 236 credit associations, with a turnover of £56,055 and a membership of 19,505. This may not appear a large turnover, but the societies work mainly in the very poorest districts in the western counties. The farmers who are members are, as a rule, very small. The average loan required is usually about £4 or £5, and hardly ever goes beyond £10. These societies are more genuinely co-operative in spirit than any others. They are formed on the Raiffeisen model, so far as the Friendly Societies Act allows of the re-creation of Raiffeisen's ideas. Their liability is unlimited theoretically, as in their German prototypes, but they have not the trading powers which the German agricultural banks possess. The German banks succeeded because they united the functions of a credit society with the functions of an agricultural society. It has hitherto been impossible to get legislation passed enabling agricultural credit societies to be established in Ireland with the constitution and powers Raiffeisen societies are permitted all over Europe. The Thrift and Credit Banks Bill, which was drafted for this purpose, has been hanging about the ante-chamber of Westminster for several years, but the audience chamber is too crowded with important measures for a poor little Bill of this kind to get a hearing. The Irish Agricultural Organization Society, however, hopes that the Legislature will finally grant these societies the power to buy agricultural requirements possessed by the Continental Raiffeisen associations, and meanwhile the societies in Ireland do as best they can by providing cheap credit for their members.

The principle on which they are formed is well known. A number of poor farmers join together and

form a society, which is registered under the Friendly Societies Act. There is a joint unlimited engagement among them to be responsible for whatever money is borrowed or deposited. This unlimited engagement is qualified to this extent—that the committee cannot borrow a greater sum in any year than the amount sanctioned by resolution of the members at a general meeting. The capital of the Irish credit societies comes in about equal proportions from the joint-stock banks, depositors, and the State; the State in this case signifying the Congested Districts Board and the Department of Agriculture. It has generally been found possible to borrow money at from 3 to 4 per cent., and to lend it out again to members at one penny per pound per month. The great joint-stock banks have evinced a disposition friendly to this pigmy kin of theirs, and lend money to them at 4 per cent. on overdraft, which enables the credit societies to relend at 5 or 6 per cent. The ideal aimed at is that credit societies should do the retail business in cash, and the joint-stock banks do the wholesale business. Loans in these societies are granted only for productive purposes or to effect some economy. The member must show that he will be able to make a profit out of his loan and pay the society back. The borrower fixes his own time and method of repayment, both being determined by the purpose of the loan. A loan for the purchase of young pigs might be made repayable in six months, when the pigs were ready for sale. A loan for the purpose of buying a milch cow might be made repayable in monthly instalments stretching over a year. The farmer would in all probability be sending the milk to a creamery, and the monthly cheques for milk suggest monthly repayments. No profits are distributed by these societies; all profits are transferred to the reserve fund. The aim is to lend money at as low a rate as possible to members, not to make profits for shareholders. Some societies established over ten years ago have now reserve funds amounting to over £100, which is a safeguard to depositors and members. The question of creating a central union for these societies, to act as a clearing-house and as a supervising and auditing body, is now being considered. A union of some sort

is inevitable. The aim of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society is to put the societies it creates into such a position, by unions and federations, that the unions and federations will finally be able to undertake the work of supervision and inspection now carried on by the propagandist body.

Besides the dairy, agricultural, poultry, and credit societies, there are ninety-six societies for miscellaneous purposes. The turnover of these societies in 1911 was £359,194. These include two federations: the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society, which has already been referred to, and the Irish Co-operative Agency Society, which is a federation of dairy societies, and which sells butter and procures dairy requisites for its members. Among the other associations are a successful co-operative bacon factory at Roscrea, a society carrying on a co-operative trade in dead meat in County Wexford, twenty home industries societies, nine flax societies, societies for supplying pigs and cattle, and a number of societies for the co-operative holding of machinery, lime-burning, and other purposes too various to be specified.

The Irish Agricultural Organization Society has not hitherto organized societies for the supply of domestic requirements. In a very few societies this work has been taken up by the members themselves, where it has been forced on them by the extremely high cost of goods supplied by the country shopkeepers. The work of organizing stores on the system in operation in Great Britain is done by an Irish branch of the Co-operative Union, and confusion between the work of the two bodies is responsible for much angry criticism levelled at the Irish Agricultural Organization Society by country traders. But some of the most intelligent traders have supported the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, have become members of co-operative societies, and have subscribed to the funds of the organizing body; and one of the larger traders in Ulster was for several years a respected member of the committee of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. These men believed that whatever agencies increased agricultural production would increase the power of the farmer as a consumer and would finally benefit the trading

classes. Although the business of supplying fertilizers and purely agricultural requirements might be taken from them, still the increased wealth of the farmers, due to co-operative dairying, agricultural, and poultry societies, would be bound to compensate them and even increase their trade. This belief was well founded, for, in spite of all the prophecies of the ruin of trade which would follow the spread of agricultural co-operation, the internal trade of Ireland has increased; the wholesale houses in Dublin and Belfast find that where they used to give credit for six or twelve months the time has gradually narrowed to three or six months. This is largely due to the co-operative dairy societies making regular monthly payments to their members. In spite of the fact that agricultural co-operation has benefited the rural traders, they still manifest a strong opposition to it. Dreading the application of the principle to the supply of domestic requirements, they attack the organization of co-operative dairy, agricultural, poultry, and credit societies. This naturally has irritated the farmers, and if oppositon is carried much further it is possible that the creameries and agricultural societies may compete with the general shop in the sale of domestic commodities.

The share and loan capital subscribed for and used by the Irish societies amounts to £415,504, which financed a business last year amounting to £2,666,483. About £100,000 has been subscribed by the farmers and their friends during the past twenty years to the organizing fund. As the societies grow in number the work of supervision, auditing, and advising becomes greater, the demand for the services of organizers to form new societies also increases, and this places a very heavy burden on a society supported by voluntary subscriptions. Application has been made by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society for a grant in aid of its work to the Development Commissioners, who have already given grants-in-aid to the English and Scottish Organization Societies—bodies carrying on exactly the same propaganda as the Irish Society, whose methods they adopt and imitate.

Opposition by Irish traders, working through Irish members of Parliament, has delayed for more than a

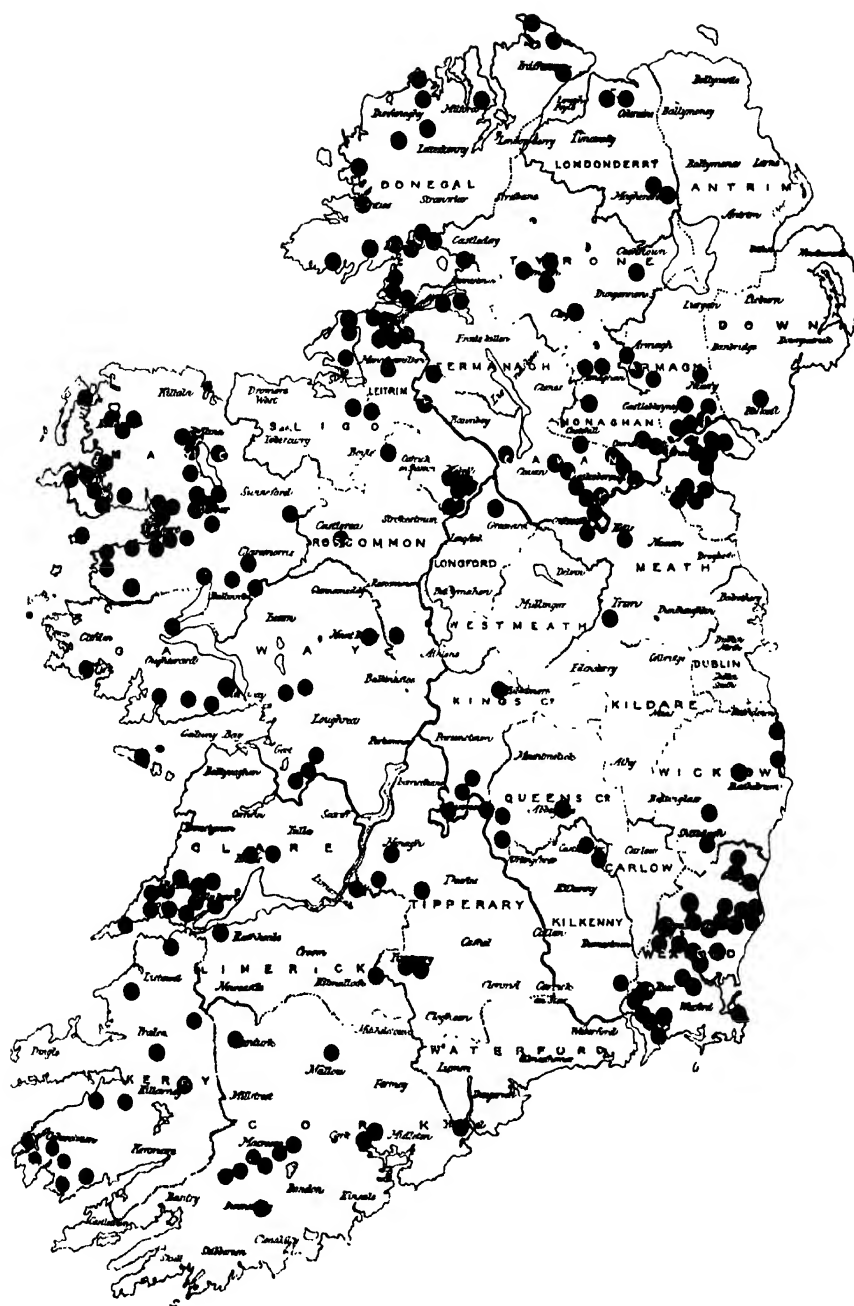


Fig. 3.—MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN IRELAND

year the giving of a grant to the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, which the Development Commissioners had recommended to the Treasury. The charges made are twofold. The Irish Agricultural Organization Society is accused of promoting societies to sell domestic requirements, and also of political partisanship.* The answer to the first charge is that the Irish Agricultural Organization Society has never allowed its organizers to start co-operative stores, and that this work is carried on by the Irish Co-operative Union, a totally distinct body. The answer to the second charge is a denial by the central body, corroborated by the societies it has created, to which it appealed. In answer to a circular letter hundreds of societies, composed of Nationalists and Unionists, denied that either the committee of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society or any of its organizers ever discussed politics. These replies were printed, and in answer to an open inquiry addressed to every co-operative society in Ireland not one single society could be found to charge the central body or its agents with the introduction of politics in its work. This vindication ought to be satisfactory when it is remembered that on the central committee of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society representatives of every body of political opinion in Ireland are to be found. There are members of Orange lodges, of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, of the United Irish League, and of the Sinn Féin party—a union which should surely vindicate the committee from the charge of political bias. The co-operative movement more than any other movement in Ireland has succeeded in uniting men of all parties in a common aim; and those engaged in the movement know so well that the charges of political bias are untrue that these charges have never affected them in the slightest degree. If there had been any truth in them the Irish Agricultural Organization Society could not have survived two months after the discovery of any partisan action on its part.

Reference was made to new developments indicating the rise of a true communal spirit in the societies created. This is manifesting itself in various directions. Many of the societies are erecting village

halls, where dances, concerts, lectures, and other entertainments are held. Village libraries are being established in connexion with the halls and societies, and a new organization of Irish country women, calling itself "The United Irishwomen," sprang into being little more than a year ago, which is affiliated to the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, has its headquarters in the same house, and has started energetically to do for Irish country women what the Irish Agricultural Organization Society has done for the male population. It promotes concerts, flower shows, industrial exhibitions, nursing schemes, and home industries; organizes a milk supply for the labourers' families, educates its members and branches in domestic economy, and generally tries to unite women in rural districts wherever any advantage is to be gained by united action. The economic movement promoted by Sir Horace Plunkett is developing social characteristics, and the purely business character of the societies is being modified by many human developments brought about by these unions of men and women, which are breaking up the old isolation and loneliness of country life.

The movement has two journals, *The Irish Homestead*, a weekly paper which, though an independent organ of agricultural opinion, uncontrolled by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, was yet started in the interests of the movement it created. The women's organization has also lately started a journal of its own, *The United Irishwoman*. Some idea of the extent to which the co-operative societies have spread over Ireland may be learned from the maps which are reproduced. The first shows the location of the dairy societies (p. 251). It will be seen that the middle portion of Ireland is bare. The space is partially filled up in the second map (p. 253), which shows the distribution of agricultural societies. The third map (p. 261) shows the location of agricultural credit societies, which are most numerous in the western counties and among the smaller farmers. A movement which has in twenty years spread itself so into every nook and corner of Ireland, in face of fierce opposition, need not now fear its enemies when it is powerful and has the farmers absolutely on its side.

CHAPTER IV

LAND LEGISLATION AND PURCHASE

THE history of modern Irish land legislation may be said to begin with the Act of 1860, commonly known as Deasy's Act, which applied to the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland the law of contract; previously it had been based on tenure. In the middle of the last century economic and legal tendencies in England set strongly in the direction of definiteness. The scientific spirit was abroad, and the desire of reformers was to bring all social phenomena under a rule of law. In England the method and system of the occupation of land easily lent themselves to a contractual relation, and it was considered that the same method of treatment should be applied to Ireland. It was overlooked that the circumstances of the Irish tenant were absolutely different from those of the English, and that a system which would work well with one would be fatal to the other.

In Ireland, as was pointed out in the report of the Royal Commission presided over by the Earl of Devon in 1844, as a rule all improvements on holdings—all their equipment—were made by the occupying tenants. On the other hand, in England, speaking generally, agricultural farms were let fully equipped with buildings, fences, farm roads, and all other improvements necessary for the proper working of the holding. The tenant contracted to pay the rent agreed on, and if at the end of the term he found that the farm did not suit him he surrendered it and went elsewhere. He had no interest or share in the ownership. In Ireland all the equipment, such as it is, was supplied by the tenant, and the landlord

contributed only the land. There were exceptions, of course, but this was the general rule.

Here we have the explanation of and some justification of the series of Land Acts passed for Ireland since 1870. They were attempts to adjust the law of landlord and tenant to the facts of the case. Before 1870 the law regarded the landlord as the sole owner of the holding, while in fact and in equity the tenant was a co-owner. The Act of 1870 gave a limited recognition to this co-ownership. The Land Acts of 1881, 1887, and 1896 gave a more complete recognition and relief, while at the same time an attempt was made to solve the difficulties which had arisen in adjusting the relation between landlord and tenant by ending it altogether. A system of land purchase with State aid was devised. It was seen that there was and could be no finality in the adjustment of the respective interests of the landlord and of the tenant by periodic rent-fixing, even when carried out by the State. Mr. Bright introduced clauses into the Act of 1870 to facilitate the sale of holdings by the landlord to the tenant with State aid. These were extended by the Gladstone Act of 1881; and in 1885 the Conservative Government passed the measure—known as the Ashbourne Act—specially framed with the object of creating a system of peasant proprietorship in Ireland. After a sum of ten millions had been expended under this Act, Mr. Arthur Balfour in 1891 devised an ingenious method of securing the State in the case of the advance of large sums of public money by making the ratepayers of each county liable for the defaults in repayment. Mr. Wyndham's Act of 1903 was based on the same security, which enabled immense sums to be advanced without danger of loss to the Imperial Exchequer.

It has been often remarked that, so far as the occupying tenantry is concerned, there was no more objectionable land system in Europe than that which prevailed in Ireland before 1870, and, from the same point of view, there is no more favourable system than that which exists at the present time. Before 1870 the tenant who had himself or through his predecessors in title supplied the equipment that made

his holding productive was liable to be ejected from the farm should he make default in the payment of one year's rent, or, even where no rent was due, by the service of a notice to quit. If he were so ejected he was entitled to no compensation for his labour or his improvements, which—out of Ulster—in many cases had to a large extent given the land its value.

At the present time the agricultural tenant in Ireland has what is practically a permanent tenure in his holding, subject to the payment of rent fixed by a State tribunal, the Irish Land Commission, in default of agreement, which rent can be revised every fifteen years. He is also entitled to purchase out the landlord's interest in the holding by agreement for a sum that is lent to him by the State, to be redeemed in a term of years by an annual payment which generally is from 20 to 25 per cent. less than the existing rent. It will thus be seen that the Irish agricultural tenant has now two great privileges—(1) that of holding his land at a rent judicially fixed; and (2) of being able to buy the fee-simple of his land with funds lent to him by the State on easy terms.

The creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland by State aid was tentatively commenced by the Irish Church Act of 1869 and by the "Bright" clauses of Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1870, under which two-thirds of the purchase money of the holding was advanced by the Government to the tenant to be repaid by an annuity of 5 per cent. on the advance. The Act of 1881 increased the limit of the advance to three-fourths of the purchase money of the landlord's interest. Over 1,600 tenants took advantage of the Acts of 1870 and 1881, and the advances under them amounted to something over three-quarters of a million. The first real attempt to settle the Irish land question by State-aided purchase was the "Ashbourne" Act of 1885, which authorized the Land Commission to advance five millions, subsequently increased to ten millions, for the purpose of facilitating sales. Under this Act the entire purchase money might be advanced, subject to a retention of one-fifth by way of security as a guarantee deposit for a limited period, and the rate of the repayment of the annuity, which was payable

for a period of forty-nine years, was 4 per cent. on the purchase money advanced.

In 1891 Mr. Arthur Balfour introduced the new system, by which the landlord or vendor was to be paid in a specially created land stock bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The dividends on this stock and the sinking fund were payable in the first instance out of the purchase annuities payable by the tenant purchasers. If these proved insufficient, the deficiency was to be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom as a temporary advance which was to be made good out of a guarantee fund set up under the Act, which fund comprised the annual payments made out of the Imperial Exchequer for Irish local purposes. Thus the ratepayers of each county were made liable for any defaults in the payment of land purchase annuities by the tenant purchasers, a system which has proved most successful in its working.

The advances made for land purchase under the various statutes up to 1903 amounted to $24\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Mr. Wyndham, with the assistance of a Land Conference which sat during 1902, resolved to enlarge and hasten the progress of land purchase. This conference was presided over by Lord Dunraven, and included representatives of the landlords and of the tenants. Among its members were Mr. John Redmond, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. T. W. Russell, Lord Mayo, and Colonel Sir Hutcheson Poe.

As a result of this conference Mr. Wyndham, aided by Lord (then Sir Antony) MacDonnell, introduced his Land Act of 1903, which may be said to have revolutionized land purchase in Ireland. Under it sales in future were to be carried out by "estates" and not by holdings, as under the prior Acts, and the vendor of an estate, in addition to the purchase money, which was to be paid in cash, was given a 12 per cent. bonus on its amount. The purchasing tenant's annuity was reduced at the same time from 4 per cent. on the amount of the advance to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The "zone" system created by the Act enabled landlords and tenants to effect an immense number of sales with a minimum of official intervention. The effect of these provisions was enormous and immediate. Land purchase flourished apace. A new tribunal was set up

to carry on the work. Three Estates Commissioners were appointed and, in five years, sales representing over £80,000,000 were entered into. In addition to the ordinary work of transferring the ownership of holdings from landlords to tenants, the Estates Commissioners were, also entrusted with the work of relieving congestion, improving the condition of estates sold, reinstating evicted tenants, and other work deemed to be germane and ancillary to the permanent settlement of the Irish land question, including the acquisition of untenanted land to be utilized in the creation of new holdings or the enlargement of uneconomic holdings. The present Commissioners are the Rt. Hon. F. Wrench, the Rt. Hon. W. F. Bailey, and Mr. W. H. Stuart. The success of the Act of 1903 was, to a certain extent, also its undoing. It was not found practicable to float sufficient stock at the price in the Act ($2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.), except at a large discount. Some one had to bear the loss. The fund provided for the purpose soon gave out, and, under the Act, the loss would then come on the guarantee fund already referred to—that is, on the Irish ratepayers. This was seen to be impossible, and in 1909 Mr. Birrell introduced an Act which relieved the ratepayers and transferred to the Imperial Exchequer the losses on flotation. The 1909 Act also provided that future sales should be paid for in 3 per cent. stock, and that the purchasing tenant's annuity should be raised from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to enable such stock to be issued.

Another matter in which the Act of 1903 had to be amended was as regards the provision of the bonus. A sum of twelve millions was provided by Mr. Wyndham for the purpose of facilitating sales. On the assumption that £100,000,000 would be sufficient to complete land purchase, this bonus fund was distributed at the rate of 12 per cent. on the purchase money advanced. This rate was to be continued for a period of five years. On the expiration of that period (November 1, 1908) it was found that proceedings for sale of estates had been instituted to an amount of between seventy and eighty millions, and that the amount remaining to be sold would probably approximate to another eighty millions. The

Treasury accordingly, under the powers given them in the 1903 Act, reduced the percentage from 12 to 3 per cent., at which rate it was to remain for at least five years were a new Act not passed. Mr. Birrell's Act provides for the payment of a graduated bonus at rates ranging from 3 to 18 per cent., according to the number of years' purchase of the rent at which the landlords sell.

The Congested Districts Board, which was established under the Act of 1821, purchases estates in the Congested Districts counties by means of advances obtained from the Land Commission. Since the passing of the Act of 1909 no "congested estate" as defined by the Purchase Acts can be sold under those Acts otherwise than to the Board without the consent of the Board; and the Estates Commissioners before entering into an agreement for the purchase of any land in a Congested Districts county must obtain the consent of the Board. The Act of 1909 gave the Board compulsory powers of purchasing lands in their counties under certain circumstances, and also gave the Estates Commissioners somewhat similar powers in regard to congestion in the rest of Ireland.

Particulars of completed and pending sales under the Land Purchase Acts on March 31, 1912, are given in the following table. The figures include sales on estates purchased or agreed to be purchased under those Acts by the Congested Districts Board, which are given more in detail (see pages 243 and 247) in another chapter :

	Number of Holdings.	Area.	Amount of Advances.
COMPLETED SALES — ADVANCES MADE :			
Landlord and Tenant Act, 1870	877	52,906	£ 514,536
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881	731	30,657	240,801
Land Purchase Acts, 1885, 1887, 1888, and 1889	25,367	942,625	9,992,536
Land Purchase Acts, 1891-1896	46,834	1,482,749	13,146,892
Irish Land Act, 1903	145,105	4,686,560	49,128,508
Irish Land Act, 1909	5,149	172,203	1,488,039
Total	224,063	7,367,700	74,511,312

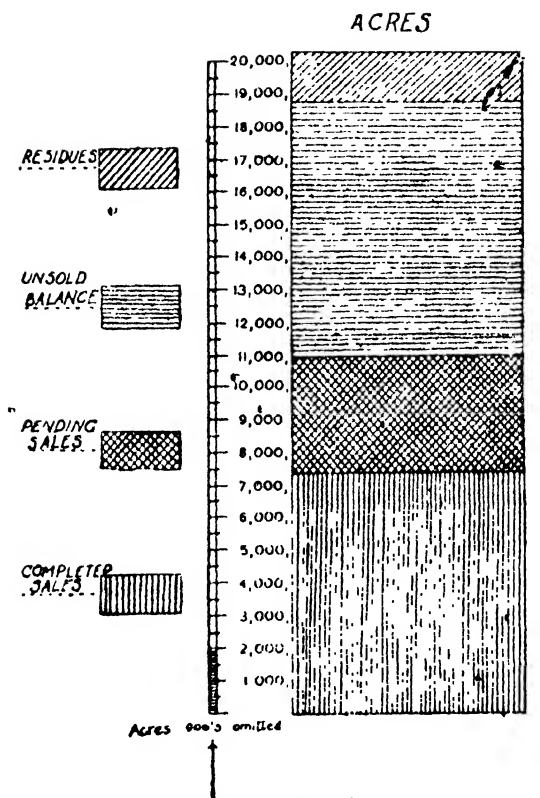


DIAGRAM OF LANDS PURCHASED AND RESOLD OR IN REGARD TO WHICH
NEGOTIATIONS ARE PENDING

	Number of Holdings.	Area.	Amount of Advances.
PENDING SALES—ADVANCES NOT YET MADE :			£
Irish Land Act, 1903. . . .	118,860	3,378,937	35,556,355
Irish Land Act, 1909. . . .	9,688	292,881	2,609,533
Total,	128,548	3,671,118 (estimated)	38,165,888

As regards what has yet to be done under the Purchase Acts, in the Parliamentary Return [Cd. 6130] of the lands sold and agreed to be sold under those Acts up to March 31, 1911, the purchase money of the unsold land on that date was estimated at eighty-three millions. This estimate, as the return itself points out, was made on the assumption that all the agricultural land in Ireland unsold on that date would be sold under the Purchase Acts, and that it would be sold on the average at the price for which lands had been sold up to that date under the Acts 1903-1909. It is therefore an outside figure and, to allow for land, which, though capable of being sold, will not as a matter of fact, in all probability, be sold under the Land Purchase Acts the price of the unsold land may be stated at (say) sixty millions, and the diagram on the opposite page has been prepared on this basis.

CHAPTER V

A NOTE ON LAND SALES

THE following table has been prepared with a view of indicating the progress of land sales in each province and county of Ireland. The figures show (a) the total area in acres of land in each county excluding land under water, roads, town and building ground, fences, etc., but including mountain land, woods and plantations, turf bogs, and marsh ; and (b) the total area in acres of land sold by means of advances made under the Land Purchase Acts, 1870 to 1909, up to March 31, 1912.

It will be seen from the figures below that the total area of the country available for sale amounts to 19,289,957 acres, of which 7,367,700 acres have already been sold. This, however, takes no account of the further quantity in regard to which negotiations are now in various stages of completeness, amounting (as will be seen by reference to the preceding chapter) to an estimated area of 3,671,818 acres.

As frontispiece to this volume there is given a map of a typical county (Limerick), which will give at a glance a better idea of what has been done and is being done than any amount of figures. To those who are not familiar with the Ireland of to-day this map presents an extraordinarily interesting study. It shows graphically the extent to which the transfer of the land has become a factor in the life of the people.

Province.	County.	Acres (a).	Acres (b).
ULSTER . . .	Antrim . .	671,323	213,194
	Armagh . .	293,805	126,743
	Cavan . .	431,989	210,089
	Donegal . .	1,128,911	228,966
	Down . .	575,357	201,328
	Fermanagh . .	390,832	166,118
	Londonderry . .	485,749	268,672
	Monaghan . .	293,612	122,958
	Tyrone . .	737,762	279,753
		5,009,340	1,817,821
LEINSTER .	Carlow . .	211,196	48,217
	Dublin . .	209,661	51,018
	Kildare . .	399,564	188,573
	Kilkenny . .	483,330	258,035
	King's . .	474,364	112,063
	Longford . .	239,255	132,502
	Louth . .	190,200	51,615
	Meath . .	550,924	188,798
	Queen's . .	406,063	130,788
	Westmeath . .	410,243	163,326
	Wexford . .	547,560	268,255
	Wicklow . .	480,381	178,565
		4,602,741	1,771,755
CONNAUGHT . .	Galway . .	1,377,122	481,846
	Leitrim . .	352,336	160,059
	Mayo . .	1,271,183	418,872
	Roscommon . .	569,457	313,004
	Sligo . .	419,597	135,251
		3,989,695	1,509,032
MUNSTER .	Clare . .	738,419	188,179
	Cork . .	1,760,886	777,636
	Kerry . .	1,117,378	406,025
	Limerick . .	633,542	299,992
	Tipperary . .	1,004,051	406,968
	Waterford . .	433,905	190,292
		5,688,181	2,269,092
		19,289,957	7,367,700

CHAPTER VI

THE INCREASED WEALTH OF IRELAND

A COMMONLY accepted index to the financial condition of a people is the statistics of the bank deposits. The following figures, showing the increase in the deposits in Irish banks over a series of decades, are interesting.

Deposits in Joint-stock Banks :

Year.	"	£	"
1851	. . . . .	8,263,091	
1861	. . . . .	15,005,065	
1881	. . . . .	28,289,000	
1901	. . . . .	41,568,000	
1911	. . . . .	56,011,000	

Deposits in Trustee Savings Banks :

Year.	£
1859	2,005,318
1911	2,537,000

Deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks :

Year.	£
1911	12,252,000

It is to be noted that the increases shown in these figures were coincident with a shrinkage in population of over 3,500,000 and in the area of land under cultivation of over 1,500,000 acres. Taking the deposits in joint-stock banks alone, they amounted half a century ago to considerably less than £2 a head of the population. They now amount to about £13 a head. Allowing for any change in the habits of the people, and though we are aware that different authorities put varying interpretations on the significance of such an increase in bank deposits, there can

be no question that these figures indicate a notable increase in proportional wealth. Roughly, the total of all deposits in banks may be said to appear to have increased between 1860 and 1911, in spite of the great decrease in population, from about £17,000,000 to over £70,000,000.

In 1841 there were 101 joint-stock banks in Ireland, including branches. In 1911 the nine principal banks had 493 branches, not including about 300 sub-offices. These nine banks are :

Bank.	Established in
Bank of Ireland	1783
Northern Banking Company	1824
Hibernian Bank	1825
Provincial Bank of Ireland	1825
Belfast Banking Company	1827
National Bank	1835
Ulster Bank	1836
Royal Bank of Ireland	1836
Munster and Leinster Bank	1885

The history of the Bank of Ireland, which occupies the beautiful Parliament Buildings in College Green, is one of which any financial institution in the world might well be proud.

PART VI

IRISH PRODUCTS, INDUSTRIES, AND MANUFACTURES

CHAPTER I

FARM PRODUCTS AND RURAL INDUSTRIES

A—INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE tendency of late years has been for Ireland to become constantly less and less an agricultural country and more and more pastoral. Between 1855 and 1912 the area of land under crops (other than hay) has shrunk from 5,682,992 to 3,920,962 acres, a decrease in tillage area of 1,762,030 acres. The process has been going on ever since 1846, the year of the famine and the repeal of the Corn Laws. To-day there are estimated to be 2,479,159 acres under hay and 12,418,867 acres of "pasture and grazed mountain," much of which, however, is very poor grazing. Against this, the total area under corn crops, including beans and peas, is 1,254,431 acres, of which 1,040,185 are under oats. This is by much the most important cereal crop, and in addition to the local consumption, there were exported last year 1,358,563 cwt. of oats of a value of £458,515. In spite of the demand for malt of the great breweries, there are only 165,000 acres under barley and no more than 45,000 acres under wheat. "While Ireland," it has been calculated, "produces between one-third and one-fourth of the oats grown in the United Kingdom, her proportion of barley is less than one-tenth, and of wheat only about one-thirty-seventh." The total area in green crops is

slightly over one million acres, of which 590,000 acres are in potatoes and 270,000 in turnips. Ireland is, before all else, as Lord Carlisle said of her, "the fruitful mother of flocks and herds."

According to figures compiled by the Department of Agriculture, the total exports and imports of Ireland for the last eight years, from 1904 to 1911, have been :

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	£	£	£
1904	54,460,182	49,784,760	104,244,942
1905	56,148,247	51,392,547	107,540,794
1906	57,910,339	56,005,305	113,915,644
1907	62,119,423	59,159,532	121,278,955
1908	59,260,782	57,414,977	116,675,759
1909	64,241,932	61,044,155	125,286,087
1910	65,479,776	65,986,790	131,466,566
1911	66,732,684	65,200,041	131,940,725

The increase in the eight years, therefore, has been £27,695,783, of which £12,272,502 were represented by enlarged imports and £15,423,281 by growth of exports. The increase has, it will be observed, been constant from year to year with the single exception of 1908. The total of £27,695,783, however, is not all the result of an enlarged volume of trade, more than half of it being due to enhanced prices; and the report of the Department in which these figures are given estimates that if prices in 1911 had been on the level of 1904 the total increase would have been something over 11,000,000 instead of more than 27,000,000. Even with this modification, however, the figures show a very satisfactory growth, and they harmonize with all the other indications of a great increase in the material welfare of the country.

The exports of "farm produce, food and drink stuffs" in 1911 were £34,155,734, and of "manufactured goods" £26,931,094; while "raw materials" produced £4,121,213. In this classification, however, whisky, ale, porter, and mineral waters are included in the first category and excluded from the "manufactured articles," in which, for our present purpose, it seems more appropriate to include them. The total increase

in exports in 1911 as compared with 1907 (for which period only are detailed figures given to us) was, it will be seen from the above table, £6,048,509. This increase was entirely in "manufactured articles." The exports of farm produce, food and drink stuffs, and raw material for 1907 and 1911 showed little change, as the following table shows:

Articles Exported.	19 7.	1910.	1911.
I. FARM PRODUCE, FOOD AND DRINK STUFFS—	£	£	£
(a) Live stock	14,870,167	15,547,713	13,463,768
(b) Dead meat, including bacon, hams, game, etc.	3,320,341	4,071,570	3,935,096
(c) Eggs, poultry, butter, etc.	8,010,331	7,690,942	7,891,516
(d) Fish	402,746	633,669	737,482
(e) Fruit and vegetables	490,175	591,140	816,204
(f) Grain, flour, meals, etc.	801,254	722,275	788,477
(g) Feeding stuffs	444,850	362,883	418,906
(h) Tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, etc.	25,886	24,847	26,008
(i) Tobacco and snuff	442,815	523,106	543,773
(j) Wines, spirits, porter, ale, mineral waters, etc.	4,300,028	4,251,120	4,379,767
(k) Other provisions and food stuffs	1,030,806	1,150,092	1,154,737
Total of farm produce, etc.	34,119,399	35,569,357	34,155,734
II. RAW MATERIALS—			
(a) Coal, coke, etc.	---	---	---
(b) Wood, hewn and sawn	278,716	240,851	251,452
(c) Stones, slates, metal ores, etc.	350,972	453,616	505,110
(d) Fats	479,672	507,980	412,028
(e) Hides, skins, wool, hair, feathers, etc.	1,199,894	1,294,233	1,234,757
(f) Flax	126,519	156,312	200,141
(g) Other textile raw ma- terials	1,415,030	1,076,697	1,092,298
(h) Other raw produce	406,657	425,968	425,427
Total of raw materials	4,257,460	4,155,657	4,121,213

It will be seen that there was a falling off in 1911 as compared with 1910 in the exportation of live stock amounting to over £2,000,000. This was abnormal, being the result of the long drought in the summer of

1911. Under ordinary circumstances there would have been a larger export in 1912; but it is to be feared that the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease and the restrictions which were then put on the importation of Irish stock into England will be found to have stood in the way of any recovery. The figures, however, show the enormous importance of the breeding of live stock to Ireland, when the average value of the annual exports amounts to over £14,000,000, and the entire population of Ireland at present is not much over 4,000,000. Adding the value of the dead meat exported to the value of the live stock the farm animals of Ireland (exclusive of the dairy products and the poultry) have an annual export value of over £4 per head of the population. The total exports of Ireland of all kinds amount to £14 6s. 8d. per head of the population, as compared with £10 os. 2d. per head of the population in the whole United Kingdom.

The imports of live stock into Ireland in 1911 were valued at only £262,436, a very considerable portion of which must be represented by horses temporarily imported for hunting.

The following table shows the number of live stock and poultry in the country in 1911 and 1912:

	1911.	1912.
Horses	616,331	617,532
Mules and jennets	31,740	30,911
Asses	246,353	243,437
Cattle	4,711,720	4,848,498
Sheep	3,907,436	3,828,829
Pigs	1,415,119	1,323,957
Goats	258,474	252,722
Poultry	25,447,801	25,525,724

From this it will be seen that there was an increase in the number of horses of 1,201 and of cattle of 136,778; but a decrease in pigs of 91,162 and in sheep of 78,607.

Separate notes which follow deal in detail with the subjects of Horse Breeding, Cattle Breeding, Sheep Breeding, Dairying, and Bacon Curing, as well as Flax Growing and Tobacco Growing.

B—HORSE BREEDING

Horse breeding is well known to be one of Ireland's most important industries. In 1912 the total number of horses in Ireland was over 600,000, the estimated value of which was over £13,000,000. This, although very much under the estimated value of cattle for the same year (£59,000,000), entitles horse breeding to a very prominent place in the catalogue of the principal industries of the country; and it has, moreover, been one of the principal means of drawing and focusing attention on the country and its natural resources.

Ireland is primarily a light-horse breeding country, owing chiefly to the fact that the big draught type of horse, which is so essential in Great Britain for working the heavy clay soils, is not necessary in a country where the soil is, generally speaking, light and friable, entailing comparatively little expenditure of energy in its cultivation. There is, of course, a heavy Shire or Clydesdale type bred in certain parts of Ireland where a demand exists for heavy dray or lorry horses, but with this exception the type generally bred is the result of what has been known in the past as "the old Irish draught horse" crossed with thoroughbred blood in the shape of sires entered in the General Stud Book, either bred in Ireland or imported from England, or with sires known as "half-bred," to be referred to later, the produce of these forming the foundation stock of the modern Irish hunter. It is necessary, however, to point out that the Irish hunter, as it is known to-day, is not by any means always the result of successive crossings of the thoroughbred sire with the ordinary mares of the country. According to the latest official returns the number of stallions at present in Ireland is as follows: thoroughbreds, 550; heavy cart sires, 400; and half-bred or hunter sires, 1,200; the latter sires having a preponderance of thoroughbred blood probably on the sides of both their sire and dam. This is the type of horse that finds most favour among the Irish breeders. Nor is this to be wondered at when the capabilities and endurance of the Irish-bred hunter are known and understood. It is, however, a matter

of regret that in many cases no authentic records are available of the breeding of some of the most successful half-bred hunter sires. Where such information is forthcoming it is generally due to the fact that the pedigree of a certain mare and her produce has been handed down from generation to generation in the family of the breeder. An effort was made some time ago to introduce a Hackney strain of blood, but it never took root in the country for the reason that the Irish breeders of horses regarded the introduction of Hackneys, from their type and conformation, as a dangerous menace to the breeding of hunters for which Ireland has become so famous.

Although hunter breeding is at present the main horse-breeding industry in Ireland, the breeding of thoroughbred horses is annually increasing; and Irish thoroughbred yearlings are making big prices at the annual sales at Newmarket and Doncaster, and at the sales of blood stock in each year, in conjunction with the Horse Show at Ball's Bridge, Dublin, held in the month of August. The successes on the English Turf, both in the classic races, on the flat, and between the flags, of horses bred in Ireland, show that for quality and staying power they have few, if any, equals.

The light-horse breeding industry in Ireland has been actively carried on for a very considerable period. There is good authority for the fact that Arab and Barb stallions were imported from Spain into Ireland at the time of the Spanish Armada, while from time to time high-class stallions used to be imported by leading noblemen and gentlemen from England. But it was not until the year 1868 that any properly organized system was attempted to improve the horse-breeding industry in the country, when it was taken up by the Royal Dublin Society, the premier agricultural society of Ireland, which held its first show of horses on its premises in Dublin. Not unlike other laudable enterprises the Dublin show had a small beginning, with only 366 entries, but this did not dishearten the promoters, and yearly horse shows have been since held on the fully equipped premises at Ball's Bridge. The total number of horses now annually shown is considerably over a thousand,

of which the very large majority are hunters or thoroughbreds. This result is the more noteworthy as many other shows are held in the various counties in Ireland before the date of the Dublin show, at which there are a large number of English and foreign buyers present anxious to purchase any promising hunters that may be shown, which would otherwise be sent to Ball's Bridge.

In 1887 the Government gave an Imperial grant with a view to subsidizing a scheme for the improvement of the breeding of horses in Ireland, and this scheme was worked with much success by the Royal Dublin Society up to the year 1900, when the administration of the grant was transferred to the newly created Department of Agriculture, which has since continued the scheme, but on a much more extended basis, with the largely increased funds at its disposal.

The scheme consists mainly in the granting of nominations at reduced rates to approved mares which have been veterinarily examined and passed as being free from hereditary disease, and in the purchase and distribution to persons on certain terms of sires calculated to produce high-class horses, in places where stallions are most needed. There is no doubt that the scheme is working well and is, in a great measure, responsible for the marked improvement of late in Irish horse-breeding generally. The open-air life of the young horse in Ireland which is possible as the result of the equable climate, together with the limestone nature of the soil which exists in the chief horse-breeding districts, is responsible for the early maturity of Irish-bred horses as regards conformation and substance, a four-year-old in this respect being often found on all fours with a five-year-old bred in Great Britain.

Fears have been expressed of the danger to horse-breeding interests of Ireland of the continual export of the best young mares to foreign countries, all of which have agents attending the horse fairs all over Ireland on the look-out for the best young horses, for which they are prepared to pay a good price. If this demand would but serve as an incentive to breeders to keep up the supply of good horses the danger might be a blessing in disguise. The foreign buyer

is usually prepared to purchase animals from two to three years old, which is a boon to the small farmers, who cannot as a rule afford to undertake the risk and expense of keeping their young horses over for training till four and five. The market for "misfits" is now becoming every day more restricted owing to the advent of motors both for business and private use. The Home Government's scale of prices for army remounts, and the age at which they purchase horses, do not compare favourably, from a breeder's point of view, with the terms of foreign Powers. The natural result is that the latter get the preference. It is worth considering whether it would not be a wiser policy to follow the lead of those other Powers and give more encouragement to the Irish farmer by making it pay him best to breed for our own use the type of horse most in requisition.

C—CATTLE BREEDING

The cattle industry in Ireland is a very important one, from a national point of view, inasmuch as the annual income from the export of fat and store cattle, along with dairy produce, is greatly in excess of that derived from any other industry of the country. The estimated value of cattle in Ireland for the year 1912 was over £59,000,000. The soil of Ireland varies from the richest to the poorest kind of land under cultivation in the United Kingdom, if not in the world; and this has much to do with the manner in which cattle breeding and the cattle trade have long been, and still are, carried out. The west and south-west, where much of the land is of the poorest, have always been looked upon as the breeding grounds. From here large numbers of young cattle annually drift towards the eastern seaboard, where, arriving on richer soil, they are kept till considered beef cattle, or are sold after being freshened up and exported as "stores." In these breeding grounds much is now being done to improve the quality of the cattle. Good sires have been introduced, and a considerable amount of improvement is everywhere apparent; but, with the poor quality of the herbage and the inferiority of other products of the soil on which they are fed, the young

animals too often get stunted in their calfhood, and much of the benefit which ought to be looked for in the produce of good sires is lost.

In many districts in other parts of Ireland, where tillage farming is pursued on better lines, a different class of cattle is to be met with, animals got by pure-bred bulls and reared from good, useful dams in a way to develop into stock of quite a high order.

For a number of years before the Department of Agriculture was established in Ireland the Royal Dublin Society administered annually a Government grant of some £1,500 for the improvement of cattle in Ireland. This the society did under a system of awarding premiums to be paid to the owners of selected bulls at the end of each service season who had given the use of such sires to a specified number of "cottiers" and small landholders at practically nominal fees.

The success of this scheme was universally acknowledged, and when the Department of Agriculture was formed it was continued upon much more extended lines, the sum administered by the society being handed over to the former body.

At present over 1,100 bulls are standing for service under the cattle-breeding scheme of the Department, and the improvement of the ordinary commercial cattle of Ireland so evident of late years, which is freely acknowledged by cattle dealers and feeders on both sides of the Channel, is very largely due to the premium schemes under which pure-bred bulls of high merit are subsidized throughout every county in Ireland. Under the present scheme cattle-breeding premiums are granted to yearling bulls, and if the animals are tended and cared for to the satisfaction of the officers of the Department during the period a second, a third, a fourth, and in some cases a fifth premium may be earned by one animal, amounting in money value to perhaps more than twice his original cost.

It would seem that if the owner of a bull received a premium for one season, or at the most for two seasons, the funds available would go further and the number of bulls subsidized could at once be largely increased, with the result of displacing many of the

wretched nondescript bulls, thousands of which are still to be found in the country retarding improvement.

The bull premium schemes have also done much indirectly to improve and encourage the breeding of pure-bred cattle in Ireland. The great demand for premium sires has led to the establishment of a large number of pure-bred herds. Many small herds of pedigree cattle have been formed under the care and supervision of working farmers and their sons; and this applies more especially to the northern portion of the country, where the business has in most cases developed into a highly profitable one.

Up to some thirty years ago sires of the Shorthorn breed were almost exclusively used for the purpose of improving the cattle of the country, and they are still much the most popular, as is apparent from the fact that in 1884 75 Shorthorn breeders registered stock in the herd book, as against 335 in 1912. For Herefords the figures are 4, as against 22, and for Aberdeen-Angus, 2, as against 96. For the same years the entries of the three breeds made at the Royal Dublin Society's shows were: Shorthorns, 179, as against 562; Herefords, 12, as against 121; Aberdeen-Angus, 14, as against 221. This is a very satisfactory showing.

There are two native breeds of cattle in Ireland which deserve mention. These are the Kerry and Dexter breeds of County Kerry, where they exist in large numbers on the bleak exposed mountains, on which the herbage, although scant, is by no means of a very bad quality. They are small in size, and considering the small amount of food they consume they are good dairy breeds. A herd book of the breeds has been published periodically by the Royal Dublin Society since 1890, and at the present time entries are being received for Vol. XVI.

In conclusion we must refer to one discouraging subject. No one who has an opportunity of looking into the matter can fail to observe the inhuman way in which the cattle trade is and has been conducted. The present writer has seen and noted the working of the cattle trade in all its details in England, Scotland, on the Continent of Europe, in Canada, the United States, and in Mexico, and without the least hesitation it is affirmed that the "ash plant" in the hands

of the Irish drovers inflicts greater cruelty and suffering on cattle (besides the deterioration in value) than would be tolerated in any of the countries named.

The way animals are treated by Irish drovers at the fairs, the railway stations, the markets, sale rings, on the streets, in the roads, and at the shipping docks is a disgrace, and ought to be rigorously dealt with.

D—SHEEP BREEDING

Sheep breeding, although of minor importance in comparison with that of cattle or of horses, nevertheless has an interest peculiarly its own, and is carried out more universally throughout the whole of Ireland than any of the other stock-breeding industries. The total number of sheep in the country, according to the latest available returns, is nearly 4,000,000, and the number exported to Great Britain in the year 1911 was over 654,000. It is a profitable industry to those who go about it intelligently and understand the mating of the different breeds so as to produce the best mutton sheep, while taking care that size of carcase and quality of wool are not lost sight of. Owing to the mildness of the climate a longer grass season can be calculated upon than is to be found in most other parts of the United Kingdom, and in the lambing season in the early spring there is rarely the same snow or frost as has to be faced in Great Britain. Consequently the lambs need little extra care or attention in the way of artificial foods, until they are fit for the market. The rapid development of the industry is remarkable when it is remembered that it has not, at any time, been especially encouraged by any subsidy from public funds, but the development is mainly due to individual efforts of the breeders of the various pure-bred flocks in the country. For many years, however, the Royal Dublin Society has offered valuable prizes at its Annual Sheep Show, which is held at Ball's Bridge in August.

The following British breeds of sheep constitute the principal pure-bred flocks in Ireland, viz.: Border Leicesters, Lincolns, Blackfaces, Shropshires, and Oxford Downs, with a small percentage of Cheviots, Suffolks, South Downs, and Hampshire Downs, each

breed having its own particular crossing capabilities in the eyes of its respective breeders, who import from time to time valuable sires to maintain the purity and excellence in their flocks. Special mention, however, must be made of the only native Irish breed of sheep, the "Roscommon" breed. As the name indicates, this particular type of sheep had its origin in the County Roscommon, where, it is understood, flocks have been handed down from one generation of breeders to another. They have long been regarded in Ireland as an established breed; but it was not until the year 1896 that a Flock Book was instituted for Roscommons. Since then the breed has become much more widely known, and representative specimens have been purchased for South America and other countries. For size and constitution the Roscommons have no equal, although the quality of their mutton may not be all that might be desired. When the Roscommon breed is crossed with sheep of a smaller and more mutton type, however, the produce is satisfactory, both as regards mutton and wool. As to size, it is no uncommon thing to find a Roscommon ram, one year old, weighing 294 lb., and it is on record that an old ram of this breed scaled over 378 lb.

The principal breeds of sheep that are crossed for market purposes in the various districts of Ireland are as follows:—In the west country the Lincoln and Border Leicester ram is generally mated with the Roscommon ewe; in the south, animals of the Border Leicester and Shropshire breeds are the cross that is mostly to be found; on the east coast, in the Wicklow Mountains, the Blackfaced ewe is crossed with the Cheviot or Lincoln ram; in the Midland counties rams of the various short-woolled breeds are mated with ewes of the Border Leicester and Lincoln cross, and in the north of Ireland the general type of sheep is the Blackface with a cross of the Border Leicester or of one of the Down breeds.

E—DAIRYING

As a butter-exporting country Ireland comes out high in order of importance. According to the latest official records, the annual value of the butter produced

is £6,704,000. Of this £4,026,000 worth is exported to Great Britain and £2,678,000 worth is consumed at home. Probably no other country is better suited by climate and soil for butter production, and, with the exception of France and Holland, no country is more favourably circumstanced as regards the rapid transport of its dairy produce to market.

In primitive times, before the introduction of modern mechanical appliances for butter-making, Ireland was the premier dairying country and enjoyed an international trade in its product. None of the now competing countries had at that time paid much attention to the export butter trade. There was not then the same keen demand for butter that there is now, nor had the public become fastidious in their taste, but were content to eat heavily salted butter which had been produced in the summer season and was only placed on the market when winter set in. It has been estimated that even at the present day more than four-fifths of the total volume of butter produced in Ireland is made between May and November, and it may fairly be assumed that the proportion was even greater in days gone by before any attempt had been made to introduce winter dairying.

The Cork butter market was the great emporium of the trade in Munster, which is the principal dairying district in Ireland. Its merchants waxed wealthy and became bankers as well as merchants. It was the regular custom, up to about twenty-five years ago, for the needy farmer to borrow, early in the year, considerable sums of money from the merchant with whom he dealt, and to mortgage his butter to the lender. Interest at the rate of 10 per cent. on the loan was deducted at the time it was made, a special deduction of from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per cwt. was made from the price paid for "mortgage" butter, while there was more than justification for the suspicion that there was unfair discrimination in its classification by the inspectors who were employed by the market authorities. It must also be remembered that, as the merchant required all the butter to be sent to him as it was made, and as the loan was always well within the estimated value of the farmer's produce, the amount borrowed was often repaid long before the expiration of the season,

while the borrower remained tied and bound to the merchant. It is easy to see that a system of this kind was calculated to enrich the merchant at sore cost to the farmer. Yet so high were the prices received for Cork butter, or indeed any good Irish butter, in the late seventies, that the farmer was able to pay this heavy toll on his industry and survive. Instances have been known where as much as £5 has been received for a firkin containing 70lb. of butter, or more than 1s. 5d. per lb. This was the last flicker of agricultural prosperity before the decade of depression which brought about the land war and ushered in the agrarian revolution in Ireland. Tillage had almost disappeared from many parts of the country owing to the opening up of vast tracts of wheat-growing land abroad, and farmers had been forced to go in for dairying. The price of store cattle had risen out of all proportion to their value, and fattening left but little profit. It was just then that the Danes commenced to send to Great Britain considerable quantities of "creamery" butter, produced by machinery in large dairies owned and worked co-operatively. They took possession of the butter market in Great Britain, and actually began to push the sale of their product in Ireland. The price of Irish butter fell rapidly, and dairying in a short time became as unprofitable as wheat-growing. Many farmers gave it up altogether, and a scarcity of store cattle immediately followed, with the result that the price of that kind of stock was forced far beyond its intrinsic worth. Successive bad seasons intensified the depression, and it seemed as if the Irish farming industry was doomed.

About that time a few creameries were established in Ireland; some by individuals, butter merchants, and capitalists, others by small joint-stock companies in which the profits belonged entirely to capital and the milk was bought at the lowest possible figure. There being no identity of interest in these concerns between the owner of the cows and the owners of the creamery, they failed one by one. It is a striking fact that, all through these years, and even to this day, the butter merchants set their faces against any such reform in the Irish butter industry as had been effected by the organized dairy farmers of Denmark. They

endeavoured to bolster up the old-fashioned system of butter production and would have nothing to say to creameries. They even went to the length of actively opposing any change, although they must have seen that primitive methods must be abandoned if the industry were to live. All they seemed to be able to see was that the introduction of the Danish system might make the farmers independent of them and deprive themselves of the profits which they realised from their moneylending business. At any rate it was not until well on in the nineties that the Cork butter market unwillingly opened its doors to butter made in Ireland on the Danish system.

In 1889 Mr. (now Sir) Horace Plunkett returned home after ten years' absence ranching in Western America. He found the country in a state of agricultural depression which had no parallel in living experience. The agrarian struggle was at its height and the feeling between classes and creeds ran high. Never, perhaps, was an economic reformer faced with a more unpromising or depressing outlook, yet it took him but a very short time to make up his mind as to the line he would pursue and as to the doctrine he meant to preach. He saw that, unless the dairying industry were saved, the entire agriculture of the country would suffer; he saw, moreover, that the one way to save it was by combining dairy farmers into co-operative societies to erect, equip, control, and work creameries of their own, thus saving the profits of the industry both in manufacture and marketing for themselves. The history of the work of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, or "I.A.O.S.," as it is generally known, is fully recorded in the reports of the society and has been discussed in a foregoing chapter. It is only necessary here to remind readers that the four hundred and odd co-operative creameries now established in Ireland comprise nearly 50,000 farmers and have an annual trade turnover of upwards of two millions sterling.

As the organization of the farmers proceeded, this fact became apparent: that while the individuals were unorganized, working by themselves, they were apathetic, and distrustful not only of others but even of themselves. But when joined in societies for mutual aid they developed a wonderful capacity for associated

effort, a fine business intelligence, and a remarkable spirit of enterprise and energy. This most striking fact encourages the promoters of agricultural co-operation in Ireland to hope that the extension of the movement to the whole of Ireland will revolutionize not only the industry of farming but also the character of those who are engaged in it.

Two things, mainly, have still to be done. The conversion of the butter-making business from a home to a factory industry merely accomplished a reform in the methods of manufacture and marketing. It scarcely touched the most important question of milk production all the year round. Following the line of least resistance, the Irish farmer is still producing the bulk of his milk supplies during the summer months, when the grass grows apace and the milk pails are filled without much effort. The custom of two or three generations back is hard to break away from, and Irish butter is still mainly a summer product. The Irish dairy farmer must be brought to realize that, under present conditions, he cannot compete on even terms with the Dane, to whom the practical application of scientific methods has made all-the-year-round production of butter possible. Until winter dairying is taken up in Ireland it cannot be claimed that the reorganization of the industry has been accomplished, but the Irish dairy farmer will not take it up until it can be demonstrated that it is profitable. Co-operative organization, *plus* intelligent teaching of improved methods of tillage, can alone bring this about.

Next he will have to improve the milking qualities of his cows. It is estimated that the average cow in Ireland produces but 400 gallons of milk annually, which is only a little more than one-half the average milk yield of the Danish cow. The production of cattle in Ireland for beef has overshadowed the production of milk. The prevailing breed of cow is the Shorthorn, and the milking strains of that breed, of which there are many with good records, have been passed by in favour of those strains which were better calculated to produce beef. It remains to be seen whether in Ireland a breed of dairy cattle cannot be evolved by a process of selection which will give at least a 50 per cent. increase in milk and yet retain the

quality of beef production. If this can be accomplished, and it does not seem to be impossible, the value of the dairy products could be increased to more than £10,000,000 per annum.

In conclusion, it appears that Ireland, circumstanced as she is, has less to fear from the aggressiveness of foreign competition than she has from the inertia of her own farmers. It is to overcome this inertia and to stimulate Irishmen to make a supreme effort to regain their lost supremacy in the butter world that the efforts of the I.A.O.S. are being mainly directed.

The question is not without serious interest to Englishmen. Quite apart from the advantage of securing supplies from the United Kingdom—an important consideration should a European war break out—the British public has pledged, or will have to pledge, its credit for the funds necessary to complete land purchase in Ireland to the extent of some £200,000,000. The sole security for this vast investment is the ability of the Irish farmer to meet his obligations. The Irish butter trade can be increased to nearly double what it now is, and will therefore prove one of the most important assets in the transaction.

F—BACON CURING

In 1911 there were exported from Ireland 342,340 swine of an estimated value of £1,331,828 and hams and bacon to the value of over £3,500,000. The total value of the exports of "pigs and pig produce" was not less than £5,000,000. All the world knows, indeed, that there are pigs in Ireland; for writers have never grown tired of making fun of the importance of "the gentleman who pays the rent" in the rural Irish family circle. There was, however, a time when it looked as if the pig was doomed to disappear from the small farms and cottage holdings. In 1841 there were shown to be a trifle over 1,400,000 pigs in Ireland, of which 950,000 were in the possession of cottiers or farmers with holdings of less than fifteen acres. In the two years succeeding the famine of 1846 the total number of pigs in the country had been reduced to some 565,000; and of the decrease of 840,000 no fewer than 808,000 had been sold from the cottages or farms of

less than fifteen acres. To-day, thanks largely to the increase of dairying, there are once more about 1,400,000 pigs in the country, though, owing to the heavy export and slaughtering, the number in 1911 was 91,000 less than in 1910.

There has, moreover, been a great improvement in quality since 1840. The old Irish pig, however companionable, was not an economical animal, having an appetite quite out of proportion to its bacon-producing qualities. In bringing about the improvement the Department of Agriculture, the Congested Districts Board, and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society have all co-operated, and private breeders have also done valuable work. The benefit of the Glasnevin Institute ought especially to be mentioned, and, by no means least, the sustained efforts made by the bacon-curers in the South through the breeding establishments maintained by their Pig Improvement Association. The results have been chiefly obtained by the importation and breeding of White Yorkshire boars. Much, however, remains to be done. Ireland ought to have more and better pigs than she has even yet, and with the continued increase in dairying this ought not to be difficult of attainment.

The great bacon-curing establishments are chiefly situated in the South, especially in Limerick, Waterford, and Cork. The three large establishments in Limerick, those of Messrs. Shaw, Matterson, and Denny, which together slaughter about ten thousand pigs a week, place that city easily first. There are big curing plants also in Belfast, Dublin, Londonderry, Tralee, and at other points. The present famous Irish "mild-cured" bacon is said to have been discovered by an accident, a Limerick curer having been compelled, owing to lack of money, to put his product on the market imperfectly cured. The popularity of the article induced imitation on the part of other curers, and now the process of mild curing has been brought to perfection, the large modern factories being equipped with all the latest appliances for chemical refrigeration, and so forth. There is, however, to be noted a wide difference in the methods of slaughtering and marketing in the South and in the North of Ireland.

Ulster, wherein the acreage under crops is almost

one-third of that of the whole of Ireland, is well situated for the breeding and finishing of swine, and the Ulster curers handle more than one-third of the pigs cured in all Ireland. The distinctive feature of the Ulster curing business, however, is that the slaughtering of the swine is not done at curing factories, as is the case in Munster and Leinster, but on the farms by local butchers. This difference has several important consequences. One is that Ulster does not supply the singed bacon which is the chief staple of South of Ireland and Danish manufacture, the process of singeing being done immediately after slaughter in properly equipped furnaces on the curers' premises. Another result is that the Ulster farmer enjoys a much keener competition for his pigs in public local markets. The slaughtering equipments are expensive, and involve the outlay of considerable capital, which is avoided by the farmer killing his swine on his farm. The necessary capital for the curing trade in Ulster is therefore comparatively moderate, and the result is that for the past three-quarters of a century the tendency has been for the curing trade to diminish in the large centres and to develop at local points spread over the province, and there are two or three times as many curers in Ulster as in other parts of Ireland. Their competition for pigs in the seventy or eighty weekly markets in Ulster is very keen, and the farmer there realizes on the average 3s. to 5s. per head more for his swine than does his southern fellow-countrymen.

The price of pigs in Ulster is at present phenomenally high. The wet summer of 1912 seriously injured the potato crop, which is the staple ingredient in swine's food in the North. The English pig crop is also short. In the United States there were unusually heavy ravages among the hogs by cholera during the autumn of 1912. Owing to the scarcity of beef and mutton in the States there has, moreover, been an exceptional demand there for hog meats, both fresh and cured. American prices are, therefore, abnormally high, and packers cannot afford to cater freely for the British market; so Ulster meats are in good demand, and the pigs which supply them command a price most remunerative to the farmers. The money pro-

duce of their pigs has this year been an unspeakable boon to many of them, who, owing to the foot-and-mouth regulations, were unable to turn their cattle into cash.

It has been becoming evident for some years that, with the growth of population in the United States increasing at a greater ratio than the development of land for agricultural production, the ability of the United States to export food products, whether grain or meats, is steadily becoming less, in which case the prospects of profit in swine production in Ireland are distinctly favourable. The efforts of the Department of Agriculture in Ireland, of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, and of every agricultural society and agency in the country, are specially needed now to help both in increasing the numbers and improving the breed of pigs, and they may be assured that any efforts that they make will be sympathetically supported by the country at large.

G—TOBACCO GROWING

The manufacture of tobacco has long been one of Ireland's leading industries, the chief centres being Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Dundalk, and Limerick. The total quantity of unmanufactured tobacco imported into Ireland during 1911 amounted to 13,931,626 lb., at an estimated value of £471,644, exclusive of duty, of which 11,567,292 lb. were imported into Belfast. The total quantity of manufactured tobacco exported from Ireland in 1911 amounted to 7,744,710 lb., at an estimated value exclusive of duty of £484,044, and of unmanufactured 1,752,727 lb., valued at £59,337; of this quantity 7,460,919 lb. manufactured and 1,209,611 lb. unmanufactured were exported from Belfast. The firm of Gallaher & Co. are the principal importers and exporters, and their products have a large sale in the most distant market.

Ireland was almost the first country in Europe in which tobacco was grown, it having been brought over, along with the potato, by Sir Walter Raleigh and planted in his garden at Myrtle Lodge in Youghal, County Cork. Until 1660 it was grown in increasingly large quantities in Ireland until it was suppressed by

an Act of Charles II. on the ground that, as stated in the preamble of the Act, "the colonies and plantations of this kingdom in America should be defended, protected, and maintained and kept up, and that all due and possible encouragements be given to them."

It is not possible here to rehearse again the story, so discreditable to England, of the sacrifice of Ireland's industries to the interests of the British traders. Tobacco culture in Ireland was extinguished in 1660, partially revived in 1779, only, when it had laboriously once more established itself, to be again deliberately annihilated, to disappear for over a century. Here and there throughout Ireland are still found fields that have retained the name of "the tobacco field," but all knowledge of the industry had vanished at the time when Sir Nugent Everard in 1898 drew public attention to the experiments on tobacco growing on his own land in County Meath. The experiments, with the permission of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were repeated in sixteen counties with surprising results. They were carried out with the assistance of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, and taken up by the Department of Agriculture in the first year of its existence. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was so impressed by the promising nature of these experiments that he allowed a rebate of one-third of the duty in order that they might be carried out upon a more extended scale. The first commercial experiment on twenty acres of land, carried out by Sir Nugent Everard, proved that a smokeable tobacco could be produced, which, although the yield was small and the cost of production heavy, gave reason to hope for more profitable returns with the increase of experience.

The five years permitted for the conduct of this experiment under rebate found the full acreage allowed—viz. 100 acres—taken up by growers and the cultivation extended to seven counties. A further period of five years, which terminates in 1913, was conceded by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1909 the rebate was converted into a subsidy, which was intended to represent its equivalent. The net results show the extraordinary progress that has

been made in increasing the yield, reducing the cost of production, and improving the quality of the product.

On the farm where the first experiments were made the results are as follows :

	1904.	1911.
Average yield per acre on 20 acres .	440 lb.	1,500 lb.
Cost of production per lb.	1s. 3d.	4½d.
Price realised per lb.	4½d.	5½d.

These results were obtained by improved methods of cultivation and curing, the use of home-grown seed, and the careful selection of plants for seeding purposes. It should be noted, however, that each centre where tobacco was grown had to be equipped with a complete rehandling plant for drying and packing the tobacco, even where the crop dealt with amounted to only ten acres. This expensive arrangement was necessitated by the absence of the rehandling trade in this country and the distance between the various centres. It is perhaps desirable to explain the system of preparation for the export trade necessitated by the high duties on tobacco in the British market.

The tobacco grower in Kentucky is generally a small farmer or a tenant who is provided with barn equipment and horse labour, and in return pays to his landlord half the price realized for his crop. When the tobacco has been cured by the farmer it is brought to the nearest "brake" sale and disposed of by auction to the dealers or rehandlers, who cart the tobacco to their factories and sometimes regrade it. A continuous machine for drying, cooling, and ordering the leaf is invariably used, and these machines, with a steam engine to operate the fans and a steam boiler of large capacity, can hardly be erected in this country for less than £1,000 each. The rehandling trade itself in America employs thousands of hands and millions of capital, and several of the cities in the Southern States, as in Virginia and Kentucky, are built upon this trade. No doubt some

damage is caused to the leaf and additional cost incurred by the makeshift appliances that Irish-growers have to use, but clearly, until the cultivation of tobacco is widely extended, it would not pay to erect so expensive a plant for dealing with the crop, and there would have been no possibility of competing in the open market with foreign tobaccos without some form of State assistance in the initial stage of the industry.

With the exception of one or two growers, the cultivation of tobacco has hitherto been attempted only by landowners such as the Earl of Dunraven, Lord Barrymore, Mr. Taaffe, the late Captain the Hon. Otway Cuffe, and Sir Nugent Everard, who have invested a large amount of capital in the undertaking, believing that if the industry could be re-established in Ireland it would be of great benefit to the small farmer and also to the agricultural labourer, there being no crop which provides employment for so many months of the year, especially for women and children, and for which there is a practically unlimited market. The Census returns show that in the district in which tobacco has been grown for the longest period, instead of a decrease of population owing to emigration, there has been a substantial increase.

The class of tobacco most largely grown is the heavy pipe variety, although cigar leaf and cigarette tobaccos have been grown to a considerable extent. The Irish climate, being particularly mild and moist, favours the production of cigar wrapper of the Sumatra type and cigarette tobacco of the Turkish type; but both these classes of tobacco require expert handling, without which there is little hope of finding a market. In pipe tobaccos some of the native varieties have produced remarkable yields. Last year, for example, white burley from Irish seed produced a crop which in dry order weighed 1,930 lb. per acre; blue pryor, also, from Irish seed, produced an average of 1,500 lb. per acre, and an offer of 8½d. per lb. was made for 20,000 lb. of the first grade; a Virginian cigarette hybrid variety, produced in Ireland, yielded over 1,700 lb. per acre bonded weight. The leaves of the first two varieties were of unusual

size; one leaf after curing measured 40 in. long by 20 in. wide. Over a hundred varieties of tobacco have been tried and several new varieties produced; but not more than a dozen can be said to have given thoroughly satisfactory results.

In order to test the suitability of tobacco as a crop for small farmers a special rehandling scheme was put into operation by the Department of Agriculture for the first time in 1910. The object of this scheme was to ascertain whether the proceeds from their tobacco would be considered by small farmers as a sufficient return for the labour expended on the crop by themselves and their families. Such persons, however, could not be expected to incur heavy capital expenditure for the provision of equipment for finishing and packing the tobacco for market. The scheme, therefore, provided that the growers already engaged in the large scale experiments who possessed rehandling equipment should receive a grant on certain conditions, framed to encourage cultivation of the crop. The number of small holders who thus grew tobacco in 1910 was five; in 1911 there were fifteen; and in 1912, fifty-three. Some of the small holders' crops sold for over £30 per acre and the amount available for covering cost of growers' labour in several cases exceeded £20 per acre.

It is obvious that a future extension of the industry must be along these lines, although there are incidental advantages in tobacco cultivation for large farmers, principally in the provision of employment for the wives and children of their labourers, and in the fact that the main operations of the crop—namely, sowing, planting, harvesting, curing, and grading—occur at seasons of the year when other work is slack and would enable them to convert the casual labourer whom they have to employ at high wages during harvest into a whole-time employee on the farm.

Apart from the advantage to the country of the subsidiary industries—such as the production of nicotine and a revival of hemp-growing—which would follow an increase in the cultivation of tobacco, the growing at home of the raw material of an industry so important as the manufacture of tobacco is of vital interest to the country. Hemp, it may be explained,

for the production of which Ireland was once famous, is generally planted as a shelter for the tobacco crop.

The present allowance of 2*d.* per lb. in the regular duty of 3*s.* 8*d.* per lb. is wholly inadequate to compensate the grower for the extra expense caused by Excise restrictions and supervision and to induce the manufacturers to look favourably upon a new tobacco which cannot be expected to show superiority, and, being prepared for market by amateurs, is likely to show considerable irregularity in its smoking qualities and moisture content. In fact, the only way of proving the manufacturing possibilities of Irish tobacco was by the establishment of a factory for the express purpose of dealing with the native product, and this has been done with most successful results.

It only remains now by adequate State encouragement to spread the cultivation of tobacco and thus restore to Ireland an industry which will tend to stay the tide of emigration and of which she has been so unjustly and cruelly deprived. There can be no question that the industry shows excellent promise, and would amply justify liberal management.

H—FLAX GROWING

The flax industry, which for the past half-century has been almost wholly confined to Ulster, is at the present time, it is pleasant to say, showing some signs of prosperity. For the past three years flax has been a remunerative crop to the farmer, yet, while statistics show a slightly increased area under its cultivation, it is still curious that the crop is not more extensively grown.

If we look backward over recent years we will find that the flax crop has always been subject to extreme fluctuations; so much so that at one time many expected that flax growing in Ireland would cease as it did in England. During the past three years there was grown in Ireland an average of about 46,000 acres. The highest record we can find is 301,693 acres in 1864; from that date onward the area fluctuated greatly but still declined till in the year 1898 we get the lowest record of 34,469 acres. Since then some improvement has taken place as indicated

by the following figures showing the average annual extent of the crop in each five-year period from 1896 to 1910: 1896-1900, 46,939 acres; 1901-1905, 48,064 acres; 1906-1910, 49,169 acres. Fluctuations, however, are still so marked that no one from the figures can assume that the decline has finally been arrested or that the recent increase will be maintained.

There is a general feeling among Irish flax growers that the supply of Irish flax governs the demand; a view which is perhaps one of the greatest causes that retard an increased planting of the crop. Many people believe that if farmers who have given up the cultivation begin again it will result in over-production, and the result is as detrimental to the farmers' interest as it is to the spinners, because the probability is that if once the supply of Irish flax is allowed to drop the spinning mills that have now their machinery fitted for the use of Irish flax would by degrees be changed to work foreign flax and Irish flax growing would ultimately become extinct. There are many spinning mills in Belfast now which use no Irish flax, having had their machinery changed; and this, to a great extent, has been brought about by the reduced supply of Irish fibre.

At present about one-fourth of what flax is manufactured in Ireland is grown on Irish soil, the other three-fourths being imported; and as the linen industry appears to be extending there seems to be little prospect or fear of over-production. The only year of over-production, or when the supply was in excess of the demand to an extent worth notice, was 1864, which we have referred to as the largest year's sowing on record. In 1860 Ireland had about 600,000 spindles in active employment, consuming roughly 32,000 tons of flax. Of this the home supply furnished 24,000 tons, or about three-fourths. Between that year and 1864, however, spindles increased by 50,000, or about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whereas the area under flax went up to 301,693 acres, with a total production of 64,500 tons, or an increase of 170 per cent. The supply in 1860 was about 6·4 st. per spindle, and in 1864 about 15·8 st. Assuming for the moment that only Irish flax was used, the consumption could not exceed 34,500 tons, leaving a nominal surplus of 30,000 tons; but as the

quantity of foreign flax which was used at that time must also be taken into account the actual surplus approached 40,000 tons. These disastrous results were brought about primarily by the Civil War in America, which for a time almost completely prevented the cultivation of cotton. Taken by itself, perhaps, the large sowing in Ireland of 1864 was not out of proportion to the destruction of cotton; but the difficulty of immediately substituting flax for cotton was lost sight of, or perhaps never thought of at all, by the Irish farmer when he hurriedly increased his sowing, expecting as a matter of course to reap a profitable harvest. Capital, however, could not be raised quickly enough to construct or equip factories; and at that time there was no regular export trade to relieve a glut on the market.

Since then the number of spindles in operation in Ireland has largely increased and great advance has been made in spinning the finer descriptions of linen yarns. Presumably from some peculiarity of the climate, Irish linen can, when adequately treated, be brought to a snowy whiteness which no other country can equal. From Russia, Prussia, Belgium, Holland, and France we import flax, and yet to all these countries we are sending our yarns and linens. Italy and Spain also take a share of our exports, not to speak of America; and had the people of Great Britain as great a taste for fine linen and cambric as the Spaniards and Americans, our home trade would be trebled. It is difficult to understand why we British have not a greater liking for linen fabrics, which are really cheaper than cotton or union goods when the greater endurance and the greater beauty of the texture are taken into account.

In the interests of the Irish spinning industry it is most important that the art of growing and handling flax should be kept alive, so that, in the event of any circumstance arising which would interfere with the importation of foreign fibre, flax growing in Ireland could be quickly revived to supply the needs of the mills. Spinners should accordingly give preference to home-grown flax whenever it suits their purpose and can be purchased as cheaply as the foreign article.

The Department of Agriculture has been devoting a

considerable amount of attention to flax growing, by giving subsidies and prizes for the best growing and best scutched flax, and by conducting experiments on the seed cultivation, manuring, retting, and subsequent scutching of the crop; but with little success in increasing the acreage. Although prices at the present moment are satisfactory to farmers, flax culture in Ireland is still in a somewhat uncertain condition; and the immediate problem is to maintain the present area rather than to extend it.

It is thought that the Department could advantageously utilize its expert knowledge and the funds at its disposal in parts of Ireland where flax growing has died out in again reviving it. But in such places the art of handling flax is forgotten, the scutch mills which were at work twenty years ago are dilapidated and in ruins, skilled workmen such as scutchers have disappeared, and now, when flax is at a paying price, the would-be growers are faced by serious obstacles which would have to be overcome.

CHAPTER II

HOME AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

It is a regrettable fact that in Ireland, as elsewhere, home industries have declined, and many a valuable means of supplementing the slender income of the small farmer or farm labourer has been lost. The "spinster" no longer spins, and the hosiery required in the home is now seldom knitted there. With the introduction of "creameries" even the dairymaid is passing. It is a difficulty common to all civilized countries, and the concentration of the population in crowded cities, at once a cause and a result of the decline referred to, involves a social problem of the first magnitude. Happily, however, many of the old home industries still flourish, fostered by voluntary or official agencies, while new ones have been introduced under conditions dictated by modern industrial requirements. The machine-made product is, of course, the enemy of the home industry; but places may still be found in the west of the country where the wool is "carded" by hand, spun on the wheel, warped, and then woven on the hand-loom. Under the fostering care of the Congested Districts Board, the production of home-spuns has been encouraged, depôts having been established for their collection and disposal, and these homespuns not only have a large local sale, but they are known all over the world, and they are in considerable demand for shooting, fishing, and golfing outfits. The character of the product has been raised by the instruction given by the Congested Districts Board in Donegal, Leitrim, Galway, Kerry, Cork, and other counties, and improved looms have been introduced. Similarly the manufacture of tweeds under factory conditions has undergone considerable development,

and several new factories have been established in recent years ; the factory at Foxford in particular gave employment to labour where it was much needed, and the future of the woollen industry is generally full of promise. Machine knitting has also been encouraged as a home industry. The Balbriggan hosiery has a high reputation, and affords occupation to a large number of home workers in the surrounding district.

There is probably no home industry for which Ireland is so renowned as she is for her lace and crotchet, which date from the period of the great famine. Teachers were then provided, and markets sought for the products, which soon acquired a reputation for their excellence. Strenuous efforts were made to improve the designs, and in this connexion the labours of Mr. Allan Cole and the late Mr. James Brenan are gratefully recalled. Designs were supplied and instructions in drawing and designing afforded, particularly in such centres as Kinsale, Kenmare, Killarney, Youghal, and Cork. The results were soon seen, and the quality of the work turned out by Kinsale, Youghal, and other places is well known. Youghal and Kenmare produced excellent needle point; Limerick lace, both "run" and "tambour," was made by Mrs. Vere O'Brien's classes at Limerick; "appliqué" lace in the neighbourhood of Carrickmacross as early as 1820, and the industry extended until it suffered from over-production, but revived after the famine of 1846; crochet work rapidly developed as a cottage industry, and came to be in large demand in France, where it is known as "point d'Irlande." The manufacture of these various laces assumed considerable proportions, and afforded no small aid in the poorer parts of the country, and the Congested Districts Board and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction have made every effort to encourage them by the provision of teachers, by supplying designs and advice, and by means of money grants in aid of training workers. The schools of art, notably those of Cork and Dublin, have devoted their efforts to the teaching of lace design, and the results may be seen in the annual exhibitions of the Royal Dublin Society. The marketing of the lace, however, became a pressing

problem, and the Irish Lace Depôt was established in Dublin by Mr. Ben Lindsey. The usefulness of this institution declined after Mr. Lindsey's death until her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen purchased the depôt and carried it on, later putting it on a strictly business footing by making it into a limited liability company. In conjunction with the Congested Districts Board this depôt has rendered great service to the industry, the success of which has stimulated imitation on the part of foreign rivals, so that to-day the most assiduous watchfulness is necessary to prevent the sale in the United Kingdom of Austrian and other laces, employing Irish *motifs* and technique, under the guise of Irish lace.

The skill of Irish workers is manifest in the art of embroidery, which has been fostered by the Royal Irish School of Art Needlework. The school was started in Dublin by the Countess Cowper over thirty years ago, and has rendered great service in providing occupation for ladies in necessitous circumstances, while at the same time, under the guidance of the Countess of Mayo, it has done much to improve the artistic qualities of Irish embroidery generally. In the north and west of Ireland a large amount of "white" embroidery is worked as a home industry, and numerous small "industries" in what is known as "sprigging" have been organized in connexion with the schemes of technical instruction under the technical committees of county councils. County Fermanagh is noteworthy in this respect. The demand for the work, however, tends to decline on account of the competition of the machine embroidery as carried on in Switzerland. Large quantities of Irish linen are indeed embroidered in Swiss factories, where the industry has been fostered by the Government. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction has, however, taken active steps to remedy this, and two schools for the training of workers in machine embroidery are now in successful operation, one of which has been open for three years while the other is more recent.

The work carried out by the county committees of technical instruction calls for further reference. Nearly all their schemes make provision for the employment

of manual instructors who have been trained by the Department of Agriculture, and the courses of instruction by these itinerant instructors have a beneficial effect upon rural industries. In the county of Kilkenny, for example, these courses led to the establishment of higher courses of instruction in the city of Kilkenny in the summer months. The young tradesmen who had attended the rural classes were assisted by means of scholarships granted by the Department to attend these centre classes for two or three successive years. They developed considerable skill, and at last banded themselves together into a Guild of Woodworkers. Without capital it is doubtful if they could ever have succeeded. The late Captain Cuffe, of Kilkenny, however, patriotically took up the movement, and developed it into the existing large manufacturing business known as the Kilkenny Woodworkers, who produce high-class furniture.

Another instance of the growth of a rural industry is that of glove-making in County Tipperary. Acting in conjunction with the local committee, glove-making was inaugurated in connexion with Messrs. Fownes, and the industry is making progress in the town of Tipperary and other centres in the county.

In metal work excellent examples are produced in County Cork, notably in Youghal and in Tyrone. Mrs. Montgomery, of Blessingbourne, some years ago organized an art metalwork class, for which the services of a highly skilled teacher were secured. This industry, known as the Fivemiletown industry, has for some time produced very distinguished work.

The manufacture of hand-tufted carpets is another industry which has been found suited to sparsely populated centres. Some twelve years ago the Congested Districts Board induced Messrs. Morton & Co., of Darvel, Ayrshire, to introduce the manufacture of hand-tufted carpets into Donegal. A factory was established at Killybegs, and a year afterwards a second factory was built at Kilcar, and two others have been subsequently erected. These have afforded employment to hundreds of workers, and have turned out carpets of exquisite workmanship. In 1904 Lord de Vesci established a similar industry on a small scale in Abbey Leix, while in the same year the Naas

Co-operative Home Industries Society started the manufacture of hand-tufted carpets. The industry was reorganized a year or so ago and is making excellent progress. On a smaller scale, but turning out rugs of exquisite colour and design, is the little "Dun Emer Industry" formerly carried on by Miss Gleeson at Dundrum, and now in Dublin. The woollen knitting industries of Donegal and Londonderry are referred to in another place.

There are many home industries carried on in Continental countries which would appear at first sight to be capable of introduction into Ireland. Careful inquiry, however, and in some cases experiment, have shown the impossibility of this. The peasantry in Switzerland, the Black Forest, Bohemia, Hungary, and other countries where home industries flourish will work for a lower rate of remuneration than the peasantry of the United Kingdom. Hence it is that such industries as toy-making, straw-plaiting, etc., have never taken a hold in these islands. In Ireland especially those industries seem best suited which demand artistic treatment combined with dexterity and patient industry, such as are necessary in lace and crochet making; but these last industries fluctuate greatly from one time to another owing to the vagaries of fashion, which if they cannot be anticipated must be responded to with rapidity; and this demands organization. The various agencies which are at work endeavouring to encourage rural industries are discussed in other articles. Meanwhile the problem is one of considerable difficulty in these days of complex machinery and highly organized factories. It is not improbable, however, that in some industries at all events certain advantages will make it possible for the small factory to succeed; and there is some reason to believe that electrical distribution of power will contribute powerfully to this end. No reference is made here to the utilization of water power, for, contrary to a popular belief, this with a few noteworthy exceptions is neither so large nor so constant as to make it a really important factor.

CHAPTER III

THE IRISH SEA FISHERIES

THE British Islands stand on a great submarine plateau, most of it eminently suitable for the production of edible fish. If we take the hundred-fathom line as the boundary of this plateau, although fishing is now carried on beyond it, we find it extends from Denmark in the east to ninety miles west of Galway, and from ninety miles north-east of Shetland to 180 miles south of Cape Clear. This immense area is inhabited by myriads of demersal fish, such as cod, ling, haddock, hake, halibut, turbot, plaice, sole, etc., chiefly caught by trawls and lines; also pelagic fish, such as mackerel, herrings, etc., mostly caught near the surface in floating drift-nets. While certain species are limited to certain portions of the plateau they all perform migrations, appearing occasionally at favourite haunts and forming a fishery. It therefore requires knowledge and experience in the fisherman to ensure his being at the right spot at the right time. This knowledge comes and spreads slowly and was practically a secret cult of fishing communities, added to from time to time by the more observant individuals.

Science, however, in quite recent years has invaded this sphere of knowledge. We now know that oceanic movements cause changes in salinity and temperature, that these react on micro-organisms and through them on the supply of fish food upon which the migrations of fish mainly depend. Some link in this chain of events may break and great changes in fish supply result, but we cannot as yet say what has caused certain observed changes of great magnitude. Herrings seem to follow wide cycles of abundance and of

scarcity. For about twenty years haddock vanished from the inshore waters of the Irish coast and returned again in as great quantities as ever. Where the central habitat of a species is outside the area, a shrinkage in the total stock may cause a withdrawal from the more outlying haunts. This may explain why pilchards, which are a southern fish, have withdrawn from Irish waters. In the seventeenth century we find pilchard fishing in full swing in West Cork and Kerry, Flemish vessels loading cargoes, while pirates found it worth while to watch for these vessels at sea. Pilchards were on the coast in the early half of the nineteenth century, but about 1880 they suddenly abandoned it. Hake, also southern fish, until recent years, provided a valuable inshore fishery on the south coast of Ireland. Upon hake a great number of the largest steam trawlers at present practically subsist. They fish for them in from fifty to two hundred fathoms, from the coast of Kerry, where they are often accused of damaging the telegraph cables with their gear, to Morocco, landing their catches at Milford or Fleetwood. At Milford, which in 1911 in point of quantity of fish landed, was the second port in the United Kingdom, over 35 per cent. of the fish landed were hake. From whatever cause, hake of marketable size have now almost ceased to visit the inshore waters.

Weather conditions exercise a most important influence on sea fisheries. In the British and Irish area a large proportion of storms begin in the south and finish in the north-west. Sweeping over the wide expanses of the Atlantic, they send before them tremendous seas, which on the exposed coasts often keep running for months at a time. On the east coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland there is shelter from these disturbances, also fishing ground in moderate depths. These conditions are favourable to the growth of fishing communities; so from Wick to the Thames, and from Belfast to Kinsale, communities of men have arisen who for generations made, and in some cases still make, sea-fishing their life-work. Beyond the coasts referred to some fishing communities exist; they depend on special local conditions and consequently do not affect the general aspect of the matter.

Off the west of Scotland, the Hebrides form a partial breakwater against Atlantic seas, but the west of Ireland, except in a few favoured localities, is unprotected, and continuous fishing, even if fish were always present, is impossible. Hence we have crofter fishermen, rather than concentrated fishing communities. These men have holdings of land which guarantee the support of their families, and being landholders their interests are divided. Often they find it safer to direct their expenditure to the improvement of their holdings than to the purchase of boats and gear. Their fishing equipment takes the form of row-boats or canvas canoes, good enough to catch quantities of fish when they come—as they usually do in certain seasons—close to their homes, and also sufficient for gathering seaweed or keeping up communication on a much-indented coast. In very exposed places canvas canoes have this advantage, that the crew alone are sufficient to lift them from the water and place them well out of reach of the heaviest sea. On all our east coasts it suffices to haul a boat just above high-water-line; but on the west coast, where Atlantic waves have smashed lighthouse walls 200 ft. above the sea, boats must be hauled up long distances or lifted to great heights to make them secure. These conditions have led to others. Fishermen with large craft are free to roam and concentrate at distant ports according to fishing seasons, while row-boat men with land must stay at home.

The earnings of the two classes are often not so diverse as at first sight might appear. The crew of a canvas canoe may share £40 per man when the lobster fishing is over. The man in the big herring-boat thinks himself well off if his share is £40 after a long herring season. The lobster-man has cottage, potatoes, cow, and poultry at nominal cost. The professional fisherman has to pay cash for everything, but he may have a second fishing season in the year. As to market facilities: in the old days almost all fish had to be salted, and consequently distance from markets was not of great importance. Quick transit has created entirely new conditions and new centres of trade.

The fisheries of the Irish seas were probably

worked in 500 B.C. or earlier by the large craft of the Phœnicians. After them fishing fleets continued to come from the Iberian Peninsula up to the middle of the sixteenth century, when Spaniards had permanent fishing stations on the coast. All round the south-west of Ireland are islands and bays still called "Spanish," and there are "Spanish" methods in building boats. Valentia Harbour still gives us their pronunciation of the old Irish name for that place. Sir Francis Drake tells us that the Spanish fishing-boats on the Irish coast were fine, weatherly craft of 100 tons, while Sir Humphrey Gilbert reported to Queen Elizabeth that 600 such craft were on the coast, and that Spanish skippers complained of the natives cutting their cables with a view to plundering the wrecks. While disapproving of such unofficial transactions, he suggested that it might be a good scheme to send round a ship of war to destroy the whole fishing fleet. He also stated that Baltimore and the Blasket Islands were the chief centres of their activity.

Fish commanded a good market, particularly on the Mediterranean coasts, from the earliest times. The seas off Spain and Portugal were inconveniently deep: the run to the Irish coast and back was easy; so the fishing grounds off Ireland were for the Ancient World what the Banks of Newfoundland have become for us. Scandinavia, Holland, Flanders, and Brittany at various times attached great importance to the fishing in Irish waters, and in later years were ready to pay the British Government for this privilege. The native Irish had no need to prosecute these fisheries; they lived chiefly on the produce of their flocks and herds; if they wanted fish there was an abundance of salmon in their rivers. The Irish chieftains, however, levied dues on these foreign fleets; O'Sullivan of Berehaven is stated to have secured over £1,000 per annum, while in Donegal, O'Donnel was known as the "King of the Fish," and in those lawless days the chieftains, in return, afforded the fishing industry some protection.

A rapid increase of population in the eighteenth century rendered it necessary for the Irish Government to take up general industrial development. In

1763 fishery bounties were established and continued until 1830, when all bounties in the United Kingdom ceased. The east coast of Ireland took most advantage of these bounties, and numbers of fine vessels came into existence; and when these large craft went fishing on the west of Ireland they often bought quantities of fish from the local boatmen. It was, however, a fact that vessels were often fitted out to catch bounties rather than fish; and proper administration proved a difficult matter. About £20,000 per annum was paid out of Irish revenue to the bounties, and during this period Nature was also bountiful. Herrings visited the coast in immense quantities. Scottish and Irish boats reaped good harvests, while the fish-curers prospered in proportion. In the words of a contemporary writer, 1780 to 1786 was "a period during which various spirited and unprecedented efforts were made to promote the [fish] trade in Ireland." The branding of herring and other fish was incidental to bounties. When bounties ceased the old Irish Fishery Board was abolished; in Scotland, however, the branding system survived, and in succeeding years exercised a stimulating influence on the herring fisheries. The "Crown Brand" for Irish herrings has lately been re-established with good results by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland.

Many of the Irish fishermen that during the famine time emigrated to the New England coast formed crews for the fishery schooners there, and introduced the present system of long line fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland. To relieve a famine in 1822 large sums were subscribed by the British people, out of which was established a loan fund to assist Irish fishermen to procure boats and gear. A further sum was collected in the famine of 1847, and a second fishery loan fund formed. For a time these funds were administered by trustees, but finally were vested in Government. They were dealt with by the Inspectors of Fisheries, and loans were issued at 2½ per cent. interest. When handed over to the Government Department they amounted to £43,000, and in 1891, when the Congested Districts Board was established, they had increased, owing to good

repayment and accumulation of interest, to £93,000. The loss on bad debts was less than 1 per cent. The whole fund was then divided, £73,000 going to the Congested Districts Board and £20,000 retained by the Inspectors of Fisheries, for those parts of Ireland, chiefly on the east coast, outside the area scheduled as congested.

After the collapse of the famine years sea fishing again improved. About 1865 drift net fishing for spring mackerel, in April and May, created a boom on the south coast. The English markets at this season were always short of fish, iced mackerel obtained almost fabulous prices, while boat-building and net-making assumed great activity. Kinsale was at first the centre. Thither large craft flocked from the Isle of Man, the east coast of Ireland, Lowestoft, Cornwall, and France. In some years up to 700 craft filled the harbour, and all did well, having mackerel fishing in the spring, followed by good herring fishing in the Irish Sea in summer and autumn. At first the local fishermen were unprepared and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts made a loan of £10,000 for the Baltimore district to enable the Cape Clear fishermen to get modern boats. This loan and many similar loans issued by the Inspectors of Fisheries were well repaid.

The fishing fleets soon distributed themselves along the south coast as far as West Kerry, and for over twenty years spring mackerel provided the most remunerative fishery on the Irish coast. In 1887 a further development took place, when it was found that a demand existed in the United States for pickled mackerel. Autumn mackerel are more suitable for curing than the spring fish, so a new season was added to the mackerel industry, and with many fluctuations this export trade has lasted to the present day. If greater care were taken in curing, Ireland could compete on more favourable terms with Norway, the other great source of supply, and it is hoped that when the grading system is adopted this will be the case.

In 1889 the Irish Government arranged with the Royal Dublin Society to have a survey made of the west coast to see how the fisheries could be developed ;

experimental trawling was tried out to the verge of the plateau and beyond, line fishing to depths of 250 fathoms, and drift-net fishing were sampled. The society sent in its final report in 1891, and in 1892, when the Congested Districts Board began work, their first effort in fishery development was to promote an extension of the fisheries, so prosperous in the south, to suitable stations on the west coast, but from Kerry to North Donegal there was not a solitary boat that could carry a full train of mackerel nets. An Irish lady resident in England provided two very expensive boats, on condition that when paid for out of their earnings they should become the property of the crews. Another lady ordered two more. The Board, pending the building of others, attempted to adapt some local hookers, or turf-boats, to deep-sea fishing. Their aim was to fix on a type thoroughly able to fish during the brief seasons that occur on the west coast, but not so costly as to necessitate loans too burdensome for inexperienced fishermen to meet. Much money was expended on instruction in fishing under skilled skippers, in fish-curing, and in net-mending. Mackerel fishing and curing stations for cod and ling were started in the Board's first year. Before the end of the second year herrings were cured on the Donegal coast, and as soon as the real value of the Donegal herring was recognised, this fishery became, as it is still, a great industry.

Another administrative change took place in Irish fisheries when, by the Act of 1899, the Department of Agriculture was created and the Office of Inspectors of Fisheries for Ireland incorporated with it. The Department of Agriculture is now the central fishery authority, but in the matter of providing boats, gear, harbour accommodation, etc., the work is divided; the Congested Districts Board dealing with the west coasts from Glendore in South Cork to Lough Foyle in the north; the Department with the east and remainder of the north and south coasts.

The chief difference in their methods of working is with regard to fishery loans. On the greater part of the west coast the farmer-fishermen had not been accustomed to loans of more than £20 or £30. When loans of several hundreds of pounds came to be

issued to provide "deep-sea" boats they often could not pay, nor could they, except in very few instances, keep boats and gear in repair; the Board have therefore to adopt the system of retaining the boats, keeping boats and gear in repair, and collecting the earnings until paid for. In cases where great takes of herrings were made and high prices paid, this worked fairly well. In the ordinary loan system, however, which prevails in other parts of Ireland, the independence of the fisherman is not interfered with. He becomes owner and manager of his boat at once with all the responsibilities that ownership accompanied by financial liability involves.

Concurrently with the Board's enterprise in 1892 a world-wide change was taking place in sea fisheries. This was the development of steam as a motive power for fishing-boats. At first it was used by trawlers and liners, and later by the steam drifter. The delivery of choice fresh fish at all seasons into English markets increased by leaps and bounds, with a corresponding fall in prices of mackerel sent from Ireland. When the Board began work, spring mackerel fetched in the Midland markets of England up to £2 per box. Now it rarely exceeds 10s.; and as ice factories and cold storage sprang into existence in England, the prices of salt cod and ling also slumped. According to statistics, in 1891 about 7,000,000 cwt. of sea fish was landed in England; now the figure is over 13,000,000 cwt. The whole of the plateau off Ireland is now fished by steam trawlers from British ports; a few come from Belgium; about a dozen are owned in Ireland, chiefly by a Dublin company. Line-fishing steamers also make great takes off the west of Ireland. None of these steamers except Dublin trawlers land fish in Ireland.

Fish caught in Irish waters thus go to swell the statistics of fish landed in Great Britain, and the question is—why do not the steamers fishing off the west of Ireland land their fish in west of Ireland ports and rail it to England? The Midland districts form the objective for most of it. Through rates per truck-load from Aberdeen to Birmingham and from Galway to Birmingham do not compare unfavourably, yet the steamers find that it suits them

better to lose four days' fishing out, of every fourteen and four days' coal in going to and returning from Aberdeen than to land their catches in Ireland. There can be no great gain on the freight, as after being sold in Aberdeen market the fish have to be railed long distances. The chief gains are—an organized market, cheaper coal, and cheap factory ice. The market question might be settled by fish, sent through, being sold in Manchester or Birmingham distributing markets. The present loss on coal consumed in going and coming ought to compensate for slightly higher prices on coals sent in tramp steamers to the west coast, but there must be ice factories until some new method is discovered for keeping fish fresh in transit. If these matters were once systematized the Irish boats could join in, and until this is accomplished it is useless to think that expensive craft can pay when worked solely from the west of Ireland. While it seems possible for trawl and line-caught fish that now goes from the Irish waters around Cape Wrath to be profitably landed in Ireland, competition with Milford and Fleetwood is more difficult. In the case of pelagic fish, however, Ireland's position is fairly well assured.

A general consequence of the progress of steam is that sailing craft are rapidly becoming obsolete, and as steamers can more economically be worked in groups, there is a tendency towards the capitalization of the industry rather than individual ownership. In Ireland, with few exceptions, individual ownership is the rule; and the problem before the country is how best to enable professional fishermen to equip themselves with craft suitable for modern conditions.

The paraffin motor-engine seems to offer the easiest solution, and since such engines have been adopted and tried quite a boom in boat-building has set in. The loans that the Department have issued for power boats are, of course, larger than formerly; but, so far, repayments have been satisfactory and the fishing results good. To supply the necessary instruction to men previously inexperienced in mechanics, a class has been formed at one of the technical schools, at which men or youths can attend a course, see marine motor-engines at work, and learn the elements of their care and manipulation.

These mechanical developments do not, however, tend to an increase in the number of men fishing, although they do tend towards greater efficiency in the method of capture and a greater supply of fish to the markets. This is clearly shown in the Scottish returns if the figures for 1891 and 1911 are compared. But the change is inevitable, and the motor has advantages for the fisherman. By means of motor craft costing less than £1,000 a greater number of men can be put to sea than by the expenditure of £3,000 on one steam drifter or £10,000 on a steam trawler. In the cheaper craft there is still a chance of keeping all the earnings amongst the fishermen, whereas in cases of heavy capital outlay, shareholders on land may reap the bulk of the profit. Thus in England, where steam is highly developed, 44,000 men land 13,000,000 cwt. of fish, while in Ireland the landing of 1,000,000 cwt. employs 21,000 fishermen.

Yet another consequence of modern development has to be dealt with. Harbour accommodation for small sailing craft is not sufficient for the steam drifter and big motor craft, and is not always to be found where, under modern conditions, it is most needed. Long before any systematic attempt was made to develop sea-fishing or fish trade in Ireland, large sums were voted by Parliament for expenditure on harbours. The construction of such works gave, in times of distress, much-needed employment; but in the absence of any definite scheme for fishery development much money was wasted. From the time that the Congested Districts Board was started, improvement in landing-places, where trade was ready to open, had to be made. When again the funds entrusted to the Department of Agriculture became available it was found possible to deal with certain east-coast harbours which needed improvement. Arklow Harbour, for example, the chief fishing port in Ireland, had its entrance so blocked with sand that, even at high water, no boat could get to sea; the bar was cut through and a special grant obtained for its permanent improvement. So much of this class of work had to be attended to that it became necessary for the Department to invest in a full dredging equipment.

Recently a further chance has been given for helping fisheries by the establishment of the Development Commission. Since its establishment the Commissioners have realized that, although much money was expended on fishery harbours in Scotland and Ireland, further expenditure was needed to meet modern changes. By means of grants from this body the Irish authorities are now put in a position to deal with harbour works on a scale for which their own funds were quite inadequate.

One of the many duties thrown upon the Fisheries Branch of the Department of Agriculture is the protection of the whole coast of Ireland and enforcement of the by-laws. For this purpose a fishery cruiser has to be maintained, and, were it not for her presence on the coast, steam trawlers would no doubt resume illegal trawling in the inshore waters and bays. This cruiser is further utilized for fishery research, and carries out oceanic observations to assist the International Council for the Study of the Sea.

A new development of an industry formerly confined to the estuaries is drift-net fishing for salmon in the open sea. This is chiefly carried on off the coasts of Donegal and Mayo, and provides a new season's earnings for the coast population. It puts, of course, a serious strain on the stock of salmon produced in Irish rivers, as the catching engines in the rivers continue unchanged and poaching is prevalent. The hatcheries promoted by the Department may help in maintaining the balance, but as the salmon fisheries are dealt with by another writer it is unnecessary to enlarge on the subject here.

In the shellfish fisheries Ireland possesses many advantages. Oysters and mussels occur on beds laved by pure Atlantic water and far removed from sources of contamination.

The most recent development on the Irish coast is the opening of two whaling stations in Mayo, the labour employed being about half Norwegian and half Irish.

CHAPTER IV

IRISH MANUFACTURES

A—INTRODUCTORY NOTE

ACCORDING to the statistics of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the exports of "manufactured goods" from Ireland have increased from £20,782,673 to £26,931,094 between the years 1907 and 1911. The figures in detail are as follows :

—	1907.	1911.
(a) Textiles —	£	£
1. Yarns, Thread, Rope, Cordage, etc.	2,656,906	2,735,387
2. Piece Goods, Apparel, Drapery, etc.	13,124,093	17,021,565
(b) Leather Goods, etc.—		
1. Leather	67,897	• 64,643 •
2. Boots, Shoes, Saddlery, India Rubber Goods	119,660	237,204
(c) Metals and Manufactures chiefly of metals—		
1. Metal and Metal Castings, etc.	293,511	373,059
2. Machinery, Implements, Motors, Ships, etc.	3,275,476	5,278,183
(d) Wooden Articles, Furniture, and Articles mainly of wood	354,725	333,193
(e) Paper, Stationery, Books, etc.	322,939	366,273
(f) Bricks, Tiles, Earthenware, China, Glass, etc.	23,488	23,441
(g) Chandlery, Soap, Candles, Oils, Paints, etc.	132,813	154,173
(h) Chemicals, Fertilizers, Dye Stuffs	201,486	195,465
(i) Miscellaneous Articles	209,679	• 168,508
Total of Manufactured Goods .	20,782,673	26,931,094

To these sums should be added, for our present purposes, the exports of beers, spirits, and mineral waters, which were £4,300,028 in 1907 and £4,379,767 in 1911. The total for the former year, therefore, was £25,082,701, and for 1911 £31,310,861, being an increase of £6,228,160. It is not necessary to comment on the magnitude of Ireland's linen trade or of her ship-building, nor on their present prosperous condition, of which the figures given above are eloquent. The general showing of the whole table is eminently satisfactory.

The world is perhaps so little accustomed to think of Ireland as a manufacturing country (as indeed it is essentially an agricultural one) that few people probably have ever considered the peculiarly high reputation which Irish-made goods have won for themselves in a variety of lines. Irish ships, Irish linen, Irish whisky, Irish stout, Irish mineral waters, Irish embroidery, Irish lace, Irish tweeds, Irish knitted gloves and coats—the names of all of these are as familiar to the public outside Ireland as are the names of Irish hunters and Irish bacon. This is a rather remarkable list for a people whose total industrial output is no larger than is that of Ireland, and it is perhaps the more remarkable, as in several of the commodities the reputation does not depend on a large volume of production. The work is largely home or cottage work, and owes its reputation to nothing but its excellence, which must also be the basis of the success of the large establishments. To the above list, moreover, may be added some cigarettes and tobacco products of quite unusual excellence, and hand-made carpets. One of the most striking things in Irish industries, indeed, is the fact that a small carpet company with a share capital of no more than £5,000, whose headquarters are at Naas, makes the sumptuous rugs (the orders being secured in competition with the world) for such hotels as the Carlton and Ritz in London, for other palatial hotels and great private houses in America, and for such steamships as the *Titanic* and *Britannic*. These rugs, moreover, are Irish designed, Irish dyed, Irish made, and Irish finished.

If experiments, which now seem promising,

prove finally successful, in the adaptation of peat as a fuel for manufacturing purposes on a large scale, the result may well be an, at least, temporary impetus to manufacturing in Ireland of considerable magnitude.

To one of another nationality it usually seems that the Irishman is only half in earnest in his serious work. On the other hand, he is undoubtedly growing more earnest, and there is some quality in the people which makes them capable of productive effort of a very high order.

B—SHIPBUILDING

It is a tribute to the commercial genius of Ulster that, while possessing none of the natural resources in coal and iron which have assisted the development of the shipbuilding industry on the Clyde and the north-east coast of England, the Belfast yards should have risen to a position of such predominance in the world's shipbuilding. In equipment, in capacity for constructing large ships, and for building vessels of various types the Belfast establishments of to-day occupy a unique position. Irish shipbuilders have been intimately associated with the new developments in shipbuilding both in regard to the tonnage put into a single hull and in improved methods of propulsion. The figures quoted in the following table, giving the output of Belfast yards for the past ten years, tell their own story :

Year.	Harland & Wolff.	Workman, Clark & Co.	Total.
1903	110,463	44,738	155,201
1904	31,842	44,272	76,114
1905	85,287	58,190	143,447
1906	83,238	65,478	148,716
1907	75,015	63,245	138,260
1908	106,528	50,303	156,831
1909	29,708	88,952	118,660
1910	115,861	49,993	165,854
1911	118,209	66,399	184,608
1912	77,591	85,391	162,982

In the years 1910 and 1911 Messrs. Harland & Wolff headed the list of the world's shipbuilders in tonnage output, and in 1912, while this firm fell from first to sixth place in the list, the other Belfast yard, that of Workman, Clark & Co., only just failed to secure the premier position. Shipbuilding is also an established industry at Dublin and at Londonderry, but it is to the famous Belfast yards that Ireland owes its high reputation for the building of ships.

The history of the firm of Harland & Wolff extends over more than half a century, and it is no exaggeration to say that its building slips have been the cradles of some famous mercantile fleets, such as those of the *White Star*, the *Royal Mail*, and other lines. The history of the firm tells the story of the development of the steamship from the earliest days of ocean steamers down to the floating palaces which now make the North Atlantic passage in five days. It was from this yard that the largest liner at present in commission, the *Olympic*, as well as the *Titanic*, was launched, and there is now building here for the *White Star Company* yet another great liner, the *Britannic*, a ship which will maintain for Belfast the reputation of having again put into the water the largest ship in the world. Profiting by the lessons of the *Titanic* disaster, for which the builders were in no way responsible, the *Olympic* has recently been overhauled and has been provided with an inner skin of steel, while the bulkheads have been carried to the upper deck. In addition to the new *White Star* liner the firm is now building the *Holland-America* liner *Statendam* of 33,000 tons and a 25,000-ton ship for the *Red Star Line*. Since the year 1891 the Harland & Wolff yard has held the record for tonnage output in thirteen different years, the largest total being in 1911, when there were launched 118,209 tons. In the marine engineering field the company takes high rank, and has supplied the machinery not only to many of the ships built in the yard, but to several naval vessels. Special attention has also been given to ship repair work, and some of the most notable examples of ship surgery during recent years stand to the credit of this firm. In addition to the Belfast establishment the company has important branches at

Southampton, Liverpool, and Glasgow, and finds employment for 25,000 men.

A process of rapid expansion has been in evidence during the past ten years at the establishment of Messrs. Workman, Clark & Co., and last year and in 1909 the tonnage launched was between 80,000 and 90,000. The type of ships built extends over a wide range, but the year 1912 was distinguished for the important additions which the yard made to the liner class. The largest vessel launched last year was the *Nestor*, a ship of 14,500 tons, built for Messrs. Alfred Holt & Co., but vessels were also delivered to owners engaged in the South American and China trades. The firm was closely associated with the pioneer work in the application of the steam turbine to marine propulsion, and built the *Victorian*, one of the first vessels engaged in the Atlantic service to be fitted with this type of machinery. Reference to the table above will show that the joint output of the two yards in 1912 was the smallest for some years past. This falling off in tonnage launched must not be taken to imply any decline in the importance of Belfast as a shipbuilding centre. It is explained by the fact that some very large ships which take a long period to complete are under construction, and in addition there were serious labour troubles in Belfast last year. Both yards are now full of work, and everything points to an enormous output for the current year.

The mammoth establishments of Belfast dwarf what is being done in shipbuilding and ship-repair work elsewhere in Ireland; but the Dublin Dockyard Company has a well-equipped if small yard. Two Canadian fishery cruisers were recently built there, and other ships constructed include passenger steamers for Colonial owners, a coal-handling vessel for the London and North-Western Railway, a fishery cruiser for the Irish Government Department of Agriculture, and a grab dredger, one of a type of which several have been built for harbour boards. The yard is well equipped for the carrying out of repair work. The reopening of the shipyard at Londonderry is a welcome revival of the industry at a port where it was originally established many years ago.

C—LINEN MANUFACTURE

That the manufacture of linen in Ireland is old is shown by a passing reference to it in the twelfth century, when the then Earl of the Province of Ulster had webs made for his household at Newtownards, about eight miles from Belfast. The origin of the modern history may, however, be said to date from two events—namely, first, the Scots settlement in Ulster about 1670, and second, the bringing into Ireland by Government invitation of one Louis Crommelin, a French Huguenot, who, whatever the motive with which the Government brought him, was appointed overseer of the Royal linen manufacture of Ireland. Cromwell and his two brothers, by use of their private means and by their practical knowledge, helped materially in putting the Irish linen trade upon a sound and lasting basis, and in all likelihood the formation in 1711 of what is known as “The Linen Board,” with its headquarters in Dublin, was due to his suggestion. The Board had as its object the encouragement, the promotion, and the extension of linen manufactures, and it was greatly helped by an annual grant of £20,000 from Parliament. At that time the country at large participated in production, as the minutes of the Board show; but it is noteworthy, and more or less inexplicable, except perhaps by remembering the great stream of emigration which set in, that by 1798, the year of the Irish Rebellion, manufacture had definitely fallen into a state of desuetude throughout Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. The process of concentration in Ulster, and more particularly in the north-east corner, with Belfast as a centre, had already begun. The Linen Board was dissolved in 1828, after a useful existence of 116 years, on the ground that the condition of the industry no longer required the assistance of the original grant.

This latter date marked the introduction of spinning machinery. Before that time the business of the growth of flax, the spinning of yarn by hand, and the weaving into webs of cloth by manual labour on cottage looms were the occupation of the peasantry, while the purchase of webs was done by merchants in numerous local markets for disposal through the

ordinary channels of trade. Even to-day some classes of fine goods are still made on the ancient hand-loom in a few particular districts like Lurgan and Ballymena, which have a special reputation for the work. Curiously enough, flax spinning by machinery proceeded by much greater strides down to 1828 in England—as far north as Lancashire and as far south as Devonshire—and in Scotland—principally in Fife-shire and Forfarshire—than it did in Ireland. But Ulster quickly made up its leeway, and, once attaining supremacy, it has retained it against all competition. At the present time Dundee and Dunfermline alone do any appreciable volume of business in Scotland, and last year the largest remaining English flax-spinning concern, with nearly 30,000 spindles, went out of the trade. The Ulster trade has experienced its own difficulties and disturbing influences, especially at the time of the Crimean War and the Civil War in America. During the latter half of last century it progressed steadily, though with some fluctuations and a protracted period of depression which culminated in 1903.

The existing status of the industry can be most readily grasped from a sheaf of miscellaneous facts and figures. Attention has often been drawn to its centralization in Belfast and the surrounding counties about 1863. Outside this area its extent is almost negligible, though thread and yarn are produced at Cork, and woven goods at Drogheda, Dundalk, and Dublin. At the present time there are approximately fifty companies engaged in spinning, seventeen of which are in Belfast, one in Cork, and the others at advantageous points in Ulster. There are roughly a hundred power-loom companies, 21,000 looms being in Belfast, 13,000 throughout Ulster, and 2,000 in a number of small factories elsewhere. Occasionally both processes are worked together, and concerns working on this joint system total sixteen factories in all, eight of which are in Belfast. Now and then rough estimates of the capital employed, the gross production, and the annual labour bill have been attempted, but they are difficult to determine accurately. The capital has been put as high as eighteen round millions sterling, and as low as fourteen millions. The most authentic and trustworthy estimate has

recently been made by an exceptionally well-qualified writer who is in the front rank of the industry. This estimate allows for 946,000 spindles at an average price of £5: £4,730,000; 36,000 power-loom at £50: £1,800,000; bleaching, printing, and finishing works, say, £500,000, making together upwards of seven millions for plant only. The stocks of raw material, and goods partly manufactured or finished, are put down at five to six millions, and for financing on all heads rather more than two millions. These in the aggregate represent a round fourteen millions embarked. Wages for all classes of operatives, clerks, managers, and other officials are estimated at roughly four millions.

The following tables show the number of looms and spindles now operating in Ireland and in the United Kingdom, and the number of the workpeople employed and their weekly earnings; though the latter figures are only partial, being based on those supplied by such firms as make returns:

TABLE I

Year.	IRELAND.		UNITED KINGDOM.	
	Spindles.	Looms.	Spindles.	Looms.
1841 . . .	250,000	—	—	—
1850 . . .	326,000	88	994,701 "	3,670
1861 . . .	592,891	4,933	1,216,674	—
1871 . . .	866,482	14,834	1,453,335	35,301
1885 . . .	873,910	24,300	1,155,217	47,641
1890 . . .	827,451	32,245	1,134,813	48,714
1905 . . .	851,388	34,498	1,022,978	54,440
1911 . . .	945,962	36,942	—	—

TABLE II

Districts.	Workpeople.	Earnings.
Belfast	17,065	£ 11,313
Other places in Ireland	14,929	8,980
Fifeshire	6,319	4,212
Other places in Scotland	6,329	4,251
England	1,066	741
United Kingdom	45,708	29,497

Many other points might usefully be referred to, as the dependence of the industry on supplies of flax from abroad, the effects of the importation of Continental yarns and Continental competition in other ways, and the activity in bleaching for which the climate of Ireland is particularly well suited. Finally, it is necessary to bear in mind that Ireland is essentially an agricultural country, and therefore the social and economic importance of a great industry—~~one~~ out of about six of any dimensions—cannot easily be over-emphasized. A visitor to Ulster can scarcely fail to be impressed by the size of the mills and factories, the completeness of the equipment, the numerous and energetic body of operatives, and the obviously careful organization and enterprise built up by successive generations of employers. The linen industry of Ulster is a great industry and national asset.

D—SHIRT MAKING

Londonderry with its shirt industry holds a place in the manufacturing world similar to that of Nottingham, with its lace or Sheffield with its cutlery, twenty-six firms being engaged in the trade, which gives employment to some 7,000 hands in the factories and over 10,000 outworkers in the rural districts. A century and a half ago Londonderry was one of the most important markets in Ireland for hand-made linen; and in 1802 Sir Robert Slade, at that time secretary to the Hon. The Irish Society, mentioned in his journal that a linen market was held there twice a week, when over £5,000 in cash would change hands for the purchase of linen webs. The weavers were small tenant farmers who grew their own flax, their women-folk spinning the yarn, and they in turn weaving the linen upon their hand-loom. In 1811 the Government granted bounties to Ireland of over £7,000 for the establishment of power-driven spindles; but, unfortunately for Derry, this money was distributed around Belfast, and doubtless had a great deal to do with the position of that city to-day as the home of the linen industry of the world. Then with the introduction of improved machinery and the more popular use of

cotton cloths the demand for hand-made linens diminished. A great number of hand-loom weavers were thrown out of employment, and the linen market in Derry was ultimately extinguished about the famine year. The only memory of it to-day is a street called Linen Hall Street, which marks the sight of the old Linen Hall.

About 1830, however, a hand-weaver of Derry, who was accustomed to take his webs of cloth to Glasgow for sale, took with him a number of shirts which he had had made by the countrywomen thrown out of employment owing to the decline of the linen business. For these he found such a ready and profitable sale that he turned his whole attention to the new trade, and undertook to supply many wholesale houses in Glasgow with shirts. His success soon attracted others, and the business increased so rapidly that in a dozen years it gave employment for thirty miles round the city. The method at that time was for English and Scotch wholesale houses to send the material ready cut up to be distributed among the cottage workers by the "making-up" agents, who had distributing stations in villages and centres most convenient to the workers.

Up to 1856 all shirts were stitched by hand. In that year, however, the first sewing machine (made by Grover & Baker) was introduced to Derry. It was slow in action and very noisy; and, as with all introductions of labour-saving machinery, gave considerable dissatisfaction to the hand workers, so that those who introduced the machines were compelled to take separate buildings in which to work them. But the machines, once introduced, fought their way, and factories were quickly established. In these the garments were cut and certain portions of them stitched by machine before going to the cottage workers for completion; on their return to the factories they were examined and sent to be dressed and boxed to either Glasgow or London. Gradually sewing machines were reduced in cost and facilities were given to the cottage workers to acquire them, until through Counties Donegal, Derry, and Tyrone thousands of these machines are to be found in the cottages to-day.

In a well-equipped modern factory, from the "piece stock room," which contains miles of white longcloth, printed cottons, linens, and flannels, the material goes to the cutting room, where girls hook up the cloth into the right length to fill the orders and others pencil out the various parts of the shirt on the cloth, using cardboard patterns as their guide. The single cloth, thus pencilled, is clamped on the top of a number of folds of cloth necessary to make up the required number of shirts to be cut, and these layers are then handed to men cutters. The trimmings—*i.e.* fronts, neckbands, and cuffs—are cut with a hand-knife, while the bigger portions—sleeves and bodies—with a power-driven band-knife similar to those which are used in sawmills. When cut the work proceeds to the machine room, where benches run the length of the room with sewing machines on either side and a shaft beneath coupled direct to an electric motor.

The sewing machine of to-day has reached an extraordinary point of efficiency, and is capable of performing anything that can be done by hand. Some machines hem the skirts at the rate of 4,000 stitches a minute; others, slightly slower, stitch the cuffs and fronts, making twenty-five stitches to an inch; others, again, fitted with two needles, fell the two edges of a body and sew a double row of stitches, making a box pleat. Tucking fronts, with thirty tucks in a half shirt front, can be done by a girl of sixteen. Buttons are stitched on at the rate of ten a minute, and buttonholes are made by an operator who works two automatic machines at the same time, which only require the push of a pedal to start them and sew the two sides of the hole before coming to a stop, the whole operation, the hole being cut and the thread clipped, taking six seconds.

The system in such a factory must be perfect or chaos would soon follow, hundreds of dozens of shirts being in progress, perhaps, at one time, and each shirt consisting of from twenty to forty pieces of material, cut by a dozen different men and handled by twice that number of women, which all have to assemble together in their right sizes and qualities at the putting-up table. Here bundles of, partially made shirts are tied together in dozens, with the necessary thread to com-

plete them, buttons, labels, and a ticket of instructions, ready for distribution among the cottage workers. The task of the cottage workers is to stitch on the cuffs and neckbands, side-seam the bodies, and work the buttonholes ; and the industry has been of the greatest benefit to the surrounding country. The workers are chiefly the wives and daughters of small tenant-farmers, whose earnings considerably augment the family income. No other thing has had such a tendency to reduce emigration and keep the people on the land; and though, unfortunately, during the last ten years outwork has decreased by 50 per cent. owing to the improvement in machinery and the increase in popularity of coloured shirts, which are factory-made throughout, over £50,000 a year is still paid by Derry firms for outwork done in the Counties Donegal, Derry, and Tyrone. Apart from the money earned, moreover, the work has the advantage of creating clean cottages ; for white work can only be done among clean surroundings, and it is possible in the wildest parts of Innishowen to pick out the houses whose inhabitants are engaged in shirt-work by their clean and tidy appearance.

E—THE WOOLLEN TRADE

As far back as the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. the Irish of both sexes and all ranks clothed themselves in garments of rough native cloth made by the women in their own homes. Owing to an abundant supply of wool and the cheapness of labour, the material was of excellent value, and as this fact came to be widely recognized the trade in Irish-made cloth expanded. Strafford did what he could to check it. Ormonde, however, encouraged it, and under his administration a mill was started in Clonmel, carried on by five hundred V'alloon families, to whom he gave land and houses on long and easy leases. This was followed by similar foundations in Cork and Dublin, some West of England clothiers attracted by the growing prosperity of the industry being responsible for the latter. After the revolution of 1688 a period of increased activity set in, an expanding export trade being now a very important feature of the industry. The magnitude

of the trade may be judged from the fact that in 1698 employment was found for 12,000 families in Dublin and 30,000 in other parts of the country.

It was about this time that English woollen manufacturers became seriously alarmed at the keen competition coming from Ireland, and they took immediate steps to stop it, and were successful in having a Bill forced through the Irish House of Commons by which duties on all exports of drapery were imposed ranging from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. *ad valorem*.

The effects of this measure were disastrous. The exports of woollen goods became less and less, and by subsequent legislation the export of Irish woollens was prohibited altogether. The consequence of these measures was that the weavers emigrated to France, Holland, Spain, and Portugal, so that when, in 1779 (eighty years afterwards), Ireland regained power to develop her export trade, the market had been lost and skilled workers were almost non-existent. The Irish Parliament achieved its independence of the English Legislature in 1782, and retained it till 1801, when the Union took place, and the period of eighteen years (1782-1800) was marked by a wonderful revival of native industries in Ireland. The woollen trade revived with the rest, but after the Union it gradually declined and became of little importance until about 1860.

It had up to then been confined to the making of friezes, a heavy coarse fabric, and rough cloths worn by the labouring classes, and flannels and blankets, etc., all made of native wool. About 1860, however, a start was made with fine merino wool. The very finest Australian wool was imported and power-looms were installed. The success of the new departure was instantaneous and surprising. The goods made, though plain in design, were neat and suited to middle-class wear; and, the material being the best obtainable, the cloths gave the greatest satisfaction. The trade grew apace, and the sale was only limited by the output, so great being the Irish demand that little or no export trade was done. The high-class character given to Irish woollens in these early days has since been maintained. Low-priced goods are made very success-

fully by two or three mills, but the trend of the trade in general is for the use of the best material and the production of the highest grade of coatings and fancy cloths.

The trade has not shown the usual tendency to fix itself in any one centre. With one or two exceptions, all the factories are in country villages and small towns, and they are scattered over the greater part of Ireland. None is in close proximity to another, and there is no such thing in Ireland as a woollen manufacturing town. This state of things has some drawbacks. There is no body of skilled workers to draw on, and each mill has to train its own hands. The remote position of some mills causes excessive expenditure in carriage, and the absence of subsidiary industries is a disadvantage. On the other hand, the workers live in the country, in pure air and the healthiest of surroundings, and can get the best country produce at lowest prices. It is the care of the manufacturers to provide good and comfortable houses for their workers, and the relations between employers and employed are of a more personal and friendly kind than would be possible with manufacturing centres. There can be no doubt that the Irish woollen workers live under much happier and brighter conditions than those in large and smoky manufacturing centres.

The number of mills has increased rapidly, and of late years a large and growing export trade has been developed.

In the North, and especially in Donegal, the making of homespuns has long been a well-established cottage industry, and it still flourishes in spite of factory competition.

It is, however, in hand knitting that the girls of County Donegal have outdistanced all competitors, and in this industry the greatest number of them find employment. For dexterity in knitting, skill in following intricate designs, and uniformity of finish these workers cannot be excelled by any country in the world. Tradition says that the art of knitting was introduced by shipwrecked sailors from the Spanish Armada and adopted by the native Irish with their usual quickness and ingenuity.

At one time the introduction of knitting machines seriously interfered with the production of hand-made socks and stockings, and threatened the life of the whole industry. Fortunately some four or five years ago the firm of Londonderry manufacturers, Messrs. R. N. Anderson & Co., started a new form of hand knitting, that of hand-knitted sports coats, which up till then had been made only in Switzerland. These garments received the patronage of Queen Mary, and to-day they are well known in all the markets of the world. Several thousands of girls are to-day employed in knitting and finishing sports coats, and the industry continues to grow.

F—CARPET MAKING

The earliest record of hand-tufted carpet-making in Ireland is that of Messrs. Eustace Brothers, of Dublin. Some eighty years ago an ancestor of the present firm dyed the yarns from vegetable dyes for a special carpet, which he then took some years to weave, copying an historical painting. This rug, which is a work of art, is an heirloom in the family, which is very proud of it to-day. But the making of hand-tufted rugs on a commercial scale is of much more recent date.

Some small earlier efforts may have been made, but the first real revival dates from about fifteen years ago, when Messrs. Morton, of Darvel and Carlisle, opened a factory at Killybegs, County Donegal, at the instance of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, as a part of the programme for the establishing of industries in the poorer districts in the west. The work at Killybegs met with so much success that additional factories have, in the interval, been started by Messrs. Morton, and in the County Donegal there are to-day four factories in successful operation, producing goods which have a world-wide reputation. In County Dublin a small but very interesting industry has been worked during the last decade in the making of "Dun Emer" Dundrum carpets or rugs, which are of an artistic nature and of characteristically Irish design. The work is not on a large scale, but the product is of a very high quality. The Congested Districts Board

were interested in another factory in County Kerry, but unfortunately the natives did not take kindly to the industry, and after a short existence it was discontinued. In the Queen's County, at Abbey Leix, an industry has been in existence for some years on Lord de Vesci's estate. Here, again, the number of workers employed is small, but excellent specimens of hand-tufted work are made.

In the County Kildare, at Naas, a small building was taken some ten years ago, where, under the influence of the Gaelic League, and under the guidance of the nuns, a small plant was put down. The difficulty of marketing the goods was soon found to be insurmountable, however, with the result that a co-operative society was formed to carry on the work on a larger scale, and through the influence of some of the residents of the county arrangements were made with an English firm of carpet manufacturers whereby the industry in Naas conducted the weaving to their order. All the preparing and finishing was done in England. This arrangement lasted for three or four years, when it had to be abandoned as unworkable. Then some of the members of the old society induced some Dublin men of business experience to take an interest in the concern, with the result that a new company was formed to take over manufacture, and it was decided to conduct every operation of the business in Ireland.

In the early days the carpets were sheared by hand, as well as being hand-woven, and Irish carpets had the name of being rather heavy and rough in the pile; but now machine shearing is used. Again, in the early days, the raw materials were all obtained from England, and, in many cases, the designs were drawn in England, the yarns were dyed there, and after the carpets were woven in Ireland they were returned to England for the purpose of being finished. At Naas, however, the visitor can to-day see under one set of buildings all the processes of designing, dyeing, and manufacture. The dyeing plant is of the most modern kind, and in some respects in advance of those in the older centres in England. After the carpets are woven the power plant does the shearing which gives the finish that enables the rugs to compete

in foreign markets with the more widely known products of foreign manufacture.

G—FLOUR MILLING

The history of the milling trade has followed much the same course in Ireland as elsewhere, and the "Manor Mill" was a familiar and important social feature in both our islands for several centuries. To it the tenants were by deed entitled to bring their grain, receiving back the supposed equivalent in meal. That the latter was often a doubtful quantity is suggested by an old proverbial description of the miller as a man with one hand in the hopper and the other in the sack.

What may be termed the milling revival took place in the early sixties when Hungarian mills began to export to these islands products of a much higher class than had been seen before. Irish millers were confronted by flour that was taken freely by the public at prices much in excess of that commanded by the home-made article, and to their credit set to work at once to produce as good. They were fortunate in finding a home market where the very best was asked for, and it is to these two factors—high-class foreign competition and a public demand for a first-rate article—that the rapid advance in Irish milling efficiency may be attributed. To this day there is no more fastidious market for flour (otherwise bread) than in Ireland.

While the process of gradual reduction by rollers only displaced the old barbarous millstones about 1883, there is record of "two roller mills or wheat-cutting machines" having been supplied to a well-known firm of Irish millers as early as 1863. On the same invoice appear items for "wheat hulling machines," which represented the *dernier cri* in cleaning plant, and to-day the Irish flour millers are an energetic, progressive body of men. There is no such thing as standing still in the milling trade; "new lamps for old" is the constant call, and the deal, like Aladdin's, is expensive.

The output of flour made by Irish mills is now greater than ever, and amounts yearly to about

3,000,000 sacks. Although all over Ireland many large and important-looking buildings that once were mills now lie forlorn and derelict, their size is deceptive in suggesting large capacity of output. From "Young's Tour in Ireland" (1776-1779) the following passage is worth quotation in this connexion: "Passed on to Captain Mercer's Mill at Loughlin Bridge. I had been told that this was one of the most considerable mills in Ireland. It is a very large and convenient one; grinds 15,000 barrells a year," which is about as much in a year as some modern mills get through in a week. There are several single mills in Ireland that can do the same in a fortnight; yet Captain Mercer's mill was doubtless a very imposing edifice, because directly after harvest the whole 15,000 "barrells" had to be kiln-dried and stored for the year.

From statistics available for later times, five mills working in 1862 in the neighbourhood of Limerick, all "considerable," had just one-third the yearly capacity of one mill in Belfast to-day.

The Irish Industrial Association's have done much to remove the prejudice that at one time denied honour to Irish milling prophets in their own country. Not many years ago retail dealers would tell the manufacturers that if business were to be done in Irish flour, it must resemble American in every possible particular. Then came the happy thought of an exclusive national trade-mark, with its concomitant agitation for the support of home industry. The result was that most Irish millers applied for licence to use the trade-mark, and to their extreme satisfaction found a new public that asked for Irish flour, and saw that it got it. Not that Irish millers enjoy a monopoly; but the value to them of this change of sentiment may be measured by the anxiety of their rivals in other countries to adopt marks and brands of Hibernian suggestiveness.

H—DISTILLING

Whether a man likes Irish whisky or Scotch whisky best is a matter of taste; but no one ever denied that good Irish whisky was in itself a spirit of the very highest quality. The amount of whisky exported

from Ireland every year is about 7,500,000 gallons, valued at about £2,000,000. In addition there is of course a very large consumption in Ireland itself, albeit the Irish people is growing increasingly temperate of recent years. It is still not so temperate that there is not a great deal of whisky drunk all over the country, not all of which is made in recognized distilleries. The amount of whisky distilled and retained for domestic consumption is slightly over 4,000,000 gallons a year, or a fraction less than one gallon per head of the population. This is slightly higher than the amount per head in the rest of the United Kingdom.

It was in Ireland that, to the best of our knowledge, whisky was invented. In "Ireland Industrial and Agricultural," edited by Mr. W. P. Coyne, of the Department of Agriculture, we are told :

"When Henry II. in the twelfth century invaded Ireland, the inhabitants were observed to be in the habit of making and using an alcoholic liquor called usquebaugh (uisgé-beatha—water of life), a term which is consequently synonymous with the classical *aqua vitæ*. A description of the virtues of usquebaugh, and a recipe for making it, are contained in the Red Book of Ossory, and it is known that the Irish were in the habit of distilling spirits from malt. The word 'whisky' is a somewhat modern corruption of 'usquebaugh.' Johnson in his dictionary states that the latter word is 'an Irish or Erse word which signifies the waters of life. It is a compounded distilled spirit being drawn of aromatics, and the Irish sort is particularly distinguished for its pleasant and mild flavour. The Highland sort is somewhat heavier and by corruption in Scotch they call it whisky.'"

At least two of the distilleries still working in Ireland can trace their history back as far as 1750, namely, the Brusna Distillery in Kilbeggan, which was established in that year, and the Bushmills Distillery in the far north, which is said to have been operated by smugglers as early as 1743. To-day there are about thirty distilleries in Ireland, though some of these are chiefly blending establishments, but the

tendency is continually for the business to concentrate in the hands of the larger houses and for the smaller houses to retire.

It is not possible here to go into the details of the Pot Still and Patent Still controversy. Briefly, a pot still is one in which the spirit is produced by the direct action of fire, as a kettle is heated when it is placed upon the coals. In patent stills the mixture is heated by steam, which is either led through it in pipes or blown directly into it. Whether patent-still whisky is or is not "whisky" it is not put upon the market as such until after it has been blended with pot-still product, as of itself it has little of the volatile oils on which the flavour of whisky depends. Pot-still whisky, on the other hand, has far too much of the oils until it has been matured. Some distilleries have apparatus of both kinds and do their own blending.

In pot stills the grain used is, on the average, about 85 per cent. malt or barley and the remaining 15 per cent. oats. In patent stills the proportion of barley is generally materially smaller, other ingredients, such as maize and wheat, taking its place. In some Irish pot-still distilleries nothing but malt is used. The pot stills, therefore, are of more service to the agriculture of the country as they use largely Irish-grown barley. On the other hand, the patent stills have in their yeast a by-product which is almost more valuable than the spirit itself.

It would be useless to give here a list of the thirty distilleries in Ireland. The name of John Jameson is known all over the world, and the great Bow Street Distillery in Dublin is one of the industrial establishments of which Ireland is proudest. Equally widely known are Messrs. John Power & Co., of Dublin, whose distillery is in John's Lane. Both of these are exclusive pot-still distilleries. The magnitude of Messrs. Dunville & Co.'s establishment in Belfast has been mentioned elsewhere in this volume. The Old Bushmills Distillery is, as has been said, apparently the oldest in Ireland, and uses only malt. Cork, Limerick, Tullamore, Dundalk, Coleraine, Londonderry, and Wexford, are among other Irish distilling centres of note.

I—BREWING

Dublin stout is known all the world over, and it seems that as long ago as the reign of James I. Dublin was noted for its "brown ale." To-day the Irish breweries make about 3,500,000 barrels of beer a year. The exports of stout and porter in 1911 reached a value of close upon £2,000,000, and the statistics show a steady annual increase. Of the total of 727,298 hogs-heads exported, 688,549 went from Dublin.

The names of stout and porter are practically synonymous, though the former name is more frequently used of an "extra" porter; and the essential difference between black beer and ale is that the former uses roasted malt—much as coffee berries are roasted before being ground—which gives the dark colour to the liquid. Black beer also requires softer water; and for this reason the water of Dublin and of the South of Ireland is peculiarly suited to its manufacture. The waters of the North are harder and better suited to the making of mineral waters and ale; but as a matter of fact the brewing of ale in Ireland is comparatively small, the total exports in 1911, amounting to only 2,000 barrels. There are minor differences in the processes of brewing stout and ale, but the important result is that stout is beyond question the more nutritious of the two.

One of the great qualities of Irish stout is its conceded purity. There are known to be a certain number of adulterants and substitutes, such as sugar, rice, maize, and so forth, which are used, or can be used, in the making of beers; and statistics compiled by the Department of Agriculture a few years ago showed that while Irish brewers form only 2 per cent. of the brewers in the United Kingdom, they produce about 8 per cent. of the beer and use over 11 per cent. of the total amount of malt and less than one-half of 1 per cent. of the sugar, rice, maize, and other substitutes. The output of the leading Irish breweries may indeed be said to be absolutely pure.

By far the largest of the Irish breweries is, of course, that of Messrs. Guinness & Co., of Dublin, which came into existence by the purchase by a member of the Guinness family of the old Rainsford

brewery in 1759. Not only is it the largest brewery in the United Kingdom, but the largest in the world, with buildings which cover nearly fifty acres of ground. It brews about two-thirds of all the beer brewed in Ireland, one-twentieth of all the beer brewed in the United Kingdom, and pays nearly a million a year in Excise duties. Other well-known Dublin breweries are the Anchor Brewery, which dates from 1740; the North Ann Street Brewery of Messrs. Jameson, Pim & Co., which goes back to 1715; and the Ardee Street Brewery of Messrs. Watkins & Co., which holds leases dating back to 1691 and occupies premises on a site where it is believed that brewing has been conducted since 1536.

Other Irish breweries of note are the Lady's Well Brewery of Messrs. James J. Murphy & Co., of Cork, and the Cork Porter Brewery of Messrs. Beamish & Crawford, which also dates back to early in the eighteenth century. The Castlebellingham Brewery, in County Louth has been immortalized by Thackeray and Charles Lever. The Dundalk Brewery of Messrs. Macardle, Moore & Co. (Limited) does a very large business. Among other breweries of importance may be mentioned those at Waterford (Messrs. Davis, Strangman & Co., Limited), Dungarvan (the St. Bridgid's Well Brewery), Tullamore (Messrs. P. & H. Egan, Limited), and Clonmel (Messrs. Thomas Murphy & Co., Limited).

One of the indirect advantages of the Irish breweries is the encouragement that they have given to improving the quality of barley grown in Ireland. Most of the larger brewers prefer to use Irish barley so far as it is obtainable of a suitable grade, and much of the Irish barley is of a very high malting quality. The supply, however, is not up to the demand, and a large quantity of barley for malting has to be imported. There appears no reason why Ireland should not grow all the barley of the required standard that it needs, and the chief brewers have co-operated with the Department of Agriculture and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society in conducting experiments and otherwise encouraging the growth of barley in suitable localities.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS

ORGANIZED movements for the support of home manufactures are nothing new in Ireland. Among the earliest of them was Dean Swift's essay in 1720; the "Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures." The printer of this pamphlet was, as Lecky reminds us, "at once prosecuted, and Chief Justice Whitshed showed a partiality that could hardly have been surpassed by Jeffreys or by Scroggs. Nine times the jury desired to return a verdict of not guilty and nine times they were sent back by the Judge." (See "Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Lecky, vol. i., p. 448.) But even before the great Dean the Irish House of Commons had resolved, in 1703, 1705, and 1707, that "it would greatly benefit the kingdom if the people used none other but the manufactures of their country"; and they had agreed to set an example themselves in this way. ("History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland," Murray, p. 202.) And again, during the ever-fascinating period of the Volunteer movement and of Grattan's Parliament, non-importation leagues sprang up all over the country, headed and approved by Grattan himself, as well as by Flood, Lord Charlemont, and the other Irish leaders of the day. The Irish ladies joined in, and resolved "that we will not wear any article that is not the product or manufacture of this country, and that we will not permit the addresses of any of the other sex who are not equally zealous for the cause of this country." The effect of these leagues was undoubtedly great for the moment, but only for the moment, and they died away nearly as speedily as they had risen up.

During the nineteenth century, a few sporadic attempts were made from time to time in the same direction, but until the land war was fought to a finish nothing constructive seemed able to develop. Further, the *raison d'être* of Grattan's non-importation leagues, as well as of the smaller movements during last century, was avowedly political; their spirit was the spirit of Swift in his famous apophthegm, "Burn everything from England except her coals."

Superficially there is a good deal of similarity between these earlier efforts and the movement which I am about to describe. Fundamentally they are very different, as will shortly appear. If this is to be properly understood, it is necessary for the observer to know in what manner the modern Irish industrial development associations came into existence, what classes of Irish people support them, and what methods they adopt in pursuit of their aims. I find it impossible to write of the movement without linking it with a little summary of recent history in Ireland.

The future historian, when he comes to discuss the differences between the Ireland of the nineteenth century and the Ireland of the twentieth century, will probably be found to select the year 1900 itself, in which the new century replaced the old, as the central point in a ten-year period of high importance. Beginning from 1895, and closing with 1905, this brief epoch may almost be called the birthday of a new Ireland.

I date the opening of this period to 1895, because in that year Sir Horace Plunkett wrote his historic letter to the Irish papers, from which the Recess Committee drew their first inspiration. Though Sir Horace himself had been at work, in a small and undemonstrative way, for a few years previously, the I.A.O.S. (of which we have heard so much latterly) was only founded by him in 1894. Three Acts of Parliament of almost revolutionary importance followed in quick succession, the Local Government Act of 1898, the Act establishing the Irish Department of Agriculture, and the Land Act of 1903.

Meanwhile another eminent Irishman, Dr. Douglas Hyde, was preaching the Gaelic revival, which, if it

fail, as it must, to force an unwilling public to speak Irish, has produced both directly and indirectly a literary, dramatic, and social movement of the deepest interest. The Abbey Theatre and Mr. "George A. Birmingham" are typical by-products of the Gaelic Revival. If the first co-operative society of Irish farmers began to create the body of a new Ireland, the first Gaelic League branch began to give it a soul.

Now these two societies, formed as they were of the most progressive and intellectual elements in the country, were continually coming into contact with each other; and to this fact we may perhaps attribute the very remarkable tone of the appeal which the *Irish Homestead* makes, week by week, to its Irish readers, co-operators or critics, and also (what is more to our present point) the interest in Irish industries which grew up in the Gaelic League.

In the year 1902 an event occurred which gave rise to a new Irish organization; an *ad hoc* society for the deliberate encouragement of Irish industries, regardless of ulterior motives, political, religious, Gaelic, or co-operative. In this year the new Department of Agriculture held an exhibition in Cork. I quote from its inventor, Sir Horace Plunkett:

"We gave an illustration not of what Ireland had done, but of what the country might achieve in the way of agricultural and industrial development in the near future. Exhibiting on the one hand our available resources in the way of raw materials, we gave on the other hand demonstrations of industries in actual operation. . . . Our officials organized parties of farmers, artisans, school-teachers, and so forth. . . . Nearly 100,000 persons were thus moved to Cork and back before the exhibition closed."

This was a novelty in Cork, and it had a novel result. The Cork men saw in the exhibition Irish manufactures, actual as well as possible, of which they knew little or nothing; they saw samples of existing Irish industries in the exhibition which they did not see in the shops.

Early in 1903 some of these citizens of Cork formed themselves into a body which they called the Cork

Industrial Development Association. Its rules and objects were short: it barred all political or sectarian discussion at its meetings; it preached no doctrine of Protection or Free Trade; it advocated no boycott of anybody; it limited itself to an appeal to all varieties of Irishmen that they should ask to see what was being made in Ireland before buying anything imported, and that, if they were satisfied, they should give the Irish article the first choice.

It may, and probably will, appear to many people that this is but a scrannel reed for a society to play upon, if it expects any one to dance to its tune. But the idea caught on, and as it spread individuals began to bestir themselves in the matter and to ask for Irish-made goods. As soon as this occurred the natural result was an increase in the output of certain Irish firms.

In this same year of 1903 King Edward VII. wrote his message to Ireland, advocating the "steady development of self-reliance and co-operation, better and more practical education, the growth of industrial and commercial enterprise, and mutual toleration and respect." As so often elsewhere, so in Ireland, his Majesty had divined the spirit that was abroad.

For a couple of years the Cork Industrial Development Association occupied itself in spreading its gospel of one text among the neighbouring towns in the South, until in 1905 (the last year of our transitional decade) the association summoned the first All-Ireland Industrial Conference. By this time there were several small affiliated associations, most of which had only a very ephemeral existence, for lack of adequate finances; but the movement had already enrolled Dublin and Limerick. Every speech during the two days' debate was imbued with the same feeling—namely, that Ireland was to blame for not giving her own industries proper support.

The most important, and to outsiders much the most remarkable, resolution that was passed was this:

"That it is expedient that a registered trade-mark should be obtained for the use of members of industrial development associations, and that a committee be appointed with power to carry out this matter, the

expenses to be defrayed by *pro rata* contributions from the different associations now in existence."

In this simple way there came into existence a wholly new idea—to wit, the first National Trade-Mark that has ever been registered. Of course, when powers were sought for establishing the Irish Trade-Mark the official regulations considerably modified the original suggestion, and ultimately the mark was vested in a statutory body, under the Merchandise Marks Act, entitled the "Irish Industrial Development Association (Incorporated)." This body is now the owner of the Irish Trade-Mark, and grants the use of it to applicants who fulfil certain definite requirements, of which the chief is that as much as the Association considers possible of the applicant's products are actually made in Ireland. An annual fee is charged for the use of the mark, and these fees cover the cost of administration and of prosecuting persons who either infringe upon the mark itself or who use typically Irish symbols upon goods that are made elsewhere. I print a facsimile of this unique trade-mark, and close this paragraph with the comments : (1) That the Gaelic inscription means simply "Made in Ireland," and (2) that the very first firm to apply for and obtain the use of the Irish Trade-Mark was an important manufacturing establishment in Belfast.

In 1905 also the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland published the first of its now well-known reports upon Irish export and import statistics, the figures being, of course, those for the previous year. It is not too much to say that they astonished every intelligent man in Ireland. No one had for a moment imagined that the external trade of Ireland amounted to over £100,000,000 a year ; still less had any one realized what huge sums we were paying for imported goods, some of which we could easily make for ourselves, some of which we were already making, and for some of which we were exporting all the raw materials. At the most modest



COPY OF THE IRISH
TRADE-MARK

estimate, Ireland pays something like £70,000 a day for articles which she ought not only to be making for herself, but making on such a scale as to have an export instead of an import trade in them. I refer especially to such items as jam and soap and candles and woollens and boots, and a host of similar commodities which should be the industrial mainstay of our agricultural country. Thus the official figures proved to the hilt the assumption of the Cork I.D.A. (to give that body its short title, by which it and its allied societies are widely known in Ireland), and gave a solid undeniable basis of fact on which to carry on the campaign in favour of Irish industries.

Since 1905 inside Ireland itself there has been no new movement analogous to those already mentioned. The last seven years have been spent rather in extending, consolidating, and improving the agencies for Irish betterment which had come into existence, or had first asserted themselves, during those fateful ten years whose centre was 1900.

So far as the Industrial Development Associations are concerned, this extension work reached a highly important date in January 1908, when a public meeting of the citizens of Belfast decided to inaugurate a local branch of the movement. Up to the time of writing the Belfast I.D.A. has continued to grow and flourish, and it has retained the approval and support of citizens and newspapers of all the creeds and parties; which is no small feat in the Northern capital. The fifth All-Ireland Industrial Conference was held there in 1909, and, if the proceedings did not give rise to anything so dramatic as a national trade-mark, yet they were in other respects fully equal in interest and enthusiasm to those at any of the previous conferences.

Quite recently the movement has spread still further north, and in October 1912 the eighth All-Ireland Industrial Conference was held in Londonderry, amid the approval and applause of all sections from men, like the late Duke of Abercorn downwards.

Apart from the National Trade-Mark (now used by some 550 leading Irish business houses), the most notable invention of the Industrial Associations has been "Irish Week"—that is to say, a week given up to a special shop-window display of Irish-made goods.

There is not a single city in Ireland, and hardly a town of any size, which has not held one or several of these "Irish Weeks"; and that which was held in Derry last October was one of the best of them all.

Probably many who read this chapter will by now have realized the Irish parentage of two recent suggestions in British and Imperial commerce—*i.e.* the "All-British Week" during March 1911, and the widely supported proposal for a British Empire trade-mark. Whether these are destined to succeed or not remains to be proved, but they owe their existence to the undeniable success of their Irish prototypes.

There is, however, a far more interesting fact which hints at developments of Imperial importance as a possible result of the principles so successfully advocated by the Irish Industrial Development Associations. When the South African War ended a few intelligent South Africans were keenly on the look-out for some means whereby they could mitigate the racial and sectarian antagonisms of their country. Without any knowledge of what Ireland was doing, they hit upon precisely the same policy as the Irish I.D.A.'s. Word for word, principle for principle, detail for detail, the two movements are identical. In the one case Boer and Briton were called on to work together for their common country, the new nation of South Africa; in the other case Unionist and Nationalist, Protestant and Catholic, were called upon to work together for the welfare of their common country, the old nation of Ireland. The South African National Union, as it is called, performed an Imperial service of the highest value in helping to pave the way for an understanding between the hostile factions of that great new nation of the British Empire. The Irish Industrial Development Associations, loyally supported as they are by Irishmen and Irishwomen of every party and creed, are daily bridging similar gulfs in Ireland, and are helping, on however small a scale, towards the solution of that Imperial nightmare the "Irish Question."

CHAPTER VI

THE ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY

THE Royal Dublin Society,¹ which Arthur Young in 1780 described as having "the undisputed merit of being the father of all the similar societies now existing in Europe," was, like many other great Irish institutions, inaugurated in Trinity College largely by Trinity men. On June 25, 1731, fourteen citizens of Dublin met in the rooms of the Philosophical Society, Trinity College, for the purpose of forming a society to "promote improvement of all kinds." Of these men Dr. Samuel Madden, a son of one of the original members of the Irish College of Surgeons, and a nephew of Molyneux the philosopher, was the most energetic, and to his efforts the surmounting of many early difficulties was due. The first few meetings were held in the rooms of the Trinity Philosophical Society, and, later, in the committee rooms of the Parliament House. In 1756 definite premises were first acquired, and in 1815 the society removed to its present abode in Leinster House, which it had purchased from the Duke of Leinster.

The history of the foundation of the Royal Dublin Society can be thus briefly stated, but to review its various activities in anything but the merest outline would be impossible here. As Mr. Richard J. Moss, the author of an interesting pamphlet published some twenty years ago, said, "to sketch the work of the society would involve writing the history of the progress of science, art, and industry in Ireland during the last 160 years."

The earliest work of the Royal Dublin Society was the foundation of a botanical garden in 1732, the forerunner of the modern gardens at Glasnevin. Books,

specimens, models, and so forth were also rapidly acquired, and a library, museum, and school of art commenced. On the initiative, and with the liberal assistance of Dr. Madden, a system of awards of premiums for various enterprises—agricultural, industrial, artistic—was originated in 1740, and in 1761 a grant of the Irish Parliament of £2,000, followed by subsequent larger grants, enabled these premiums to be increased. An interesting award was that offered to the person who should retail the greatest quantity of porter made in Ireland, and the great development of the brewing industry in Dublin had its origin in these early efforts.

Statistical and geological surveys of Ireland were first undertaken by the society, and the foundation of the present Government Ordnance and Geological Survey Departments laid. Other scientific work was undertaken in connexion with the museum and botanical gardens, and professors of chemistry, mineralogy, natural history, and botany were appointed to deliver lectures to the public. This work was subsequently taken over by the Government on the foundation of the Royal College of Science for Ireland. The administration of the museum, library, and school of art also came under Government control on the passing of the Science and Art Museum Act of 1877, when the Treasury grant of £6,000 a year was withdrawn. This allowed the society once more to enjoy a freedom from control, from which circumstance it has greatly benefited. Its agricultural activities had always been more or less dependent on its private resources, and to these enterprises it commenced to give more and more attention, while still encouraging science and art.

The annual horse show, the best known, perhaps, of the society's undertakings, was first held in 1868, in its grounds in Kildare Street, when 368 horses were entered. Since 1881 this show has been held at Ball's Bridge, where the society owns about 38 acres of land and extensive buildings. The entries for that year were 589, and the attendances during the three days of the show 17,736. The total entries in 1911, when prizes to the value of £2,451 were offered, was 1,390, while the attendances had risen to 48,683. Sheep

are also entered for this show; and other shows, one for bulls, a spring show for dairy produce, cattle, and horses, and a winter show for cattle, poultry, butter, and farm produce, are also held annually. Musical recitals of a very high order, exhibitions of art industries, lectures on scientific and literary subjects, and the administration of a valuable library are amongst the other important functions of this most 'useful body, of which it might almost still be said, in the words of Lord Chesterfield, that it has "done more good to Ireland, with regard to art and industry, than all the laws that could have been formed." Testimony to its usefulness will be found in a number of incidental references scattered through the pages of this book. •

PART VII

RAILWAYS AND WATER COMMUNICATIONS

CHAPTER I

PORTS AND HARBOURS

ALTHOUGH Ireland lacks the possession of great trading ports such as London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, no fewer than sixteen Irish ports are included in the official returns of navigation and shipping, and the total tonnage of ships engaged in the general coasting trade and in intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland is in excess of 8,000,000 tons. In the foreign trade the principal ports are Cork, Londonderry, Belfast, and Dublin. Cork, which includes Queens-town, occupies the principal place in the foreign trade, the tonnage of vessels arriving and leaving the port for 1911, the last year for which the complete figures are available, being in excess of 7,000,000 tons, Londonderry coming second with a tonnage of 1,371,862, Belfast third with a tonnage of 1,081,250, and Dublin fourth. A conspicuous feature of the trade of Irish ports is the volume of the import in comparison with the export trade. This characteristic is the outcome of natural conditions and the absence of great manufacturing industries.

In commercial importance Belfast easily ranks first, the value of the import trade in 1911 being £8,141,488 out of a total trade of £9,425,981. This is somewhat lower than the average of recent years, which has exceeded £10,000,000. The tonnage cleared at Belfast in 1912, 3,090,192, is the highest on record. There is an excellent harbour at Belfast which is easily

accessible under all conditions, with a depth of water in the entrance channel to the docks of 23 ft. at low water. The principal docks are the Spencer dock with a water area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, the Dufferin dock, the Mile water basin of 5 acres area, the Clarendon tidal dock of 4 acres area, and the Abercorn basin with a water area of $10\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In addition, the river area of over 90 acres also serves the purpose of a dock. There is a total quayage of about 26,000 lineal feet. There are four graving docks, the largest of which is 850 ft. long, 96 ft. in width, and with a maximum depth of water on the sill of 34 ft. 9 in. The principal items in the import trade are coal, textiles, cement, grain, flour, machinery, sugar, iron, steel, and tobacco.

Cork harbour provides a well-sheltered anchorage with 20 ft. of water alongside the jetties, and vessels of over 24 ft. draught can discharge at the deep-water quays. The transatlantic liners which use the harbour can enter and leave at all states of the tide. The total water area at Cork between the quays is $46\frac{1}{2}$ acres, with a maximum depth of 23 ft. at low water, with a depth at the harbour entrance of 38 ft. The principal trade is in grain, timber, coal, live stock, provisions, and whisky. The total imports for the year 1911 amounted in value to £1,341,974, the value of the export trade in United Kingdom produce being £51,979.

The harbour at Dublin makes special provision for the cross-Channel trade, but is not accessible at low water to vessels drawing more than 18 ft. The entrance channel in the river Liffey is 1,000 ft. wide, and the total water area of the harbour exceeds 200 acres, including the Grand Canal docks. The Alexandra basin has 50 acres of water area, with a depth over the greater part of it of 24 ft. at low water. Ample quay space and jettv and shed accommodation have been provided, and the largest of the six graving docks is over 500 ft. long. Sugar, grain, ice, timber, and general merchandise are the main features of the import trade; while alcoholic liquors and linen form the bulk of the export trade, the total values for 1912 being, Imports £2,957,741, and exports £149,491.

Londonderry boasts a good harbour with two miles of quays along the river. The port, which is situated

twenty-three miles from the sea on the river Foyle, is approached by a winding channel with a general depth of 18 ft. at low water, but with deeper water at Londonderry. The anchorage for vessels is in the stretch of river in front of the quays. A graving dock 300 ft. long with an entrance width of 50 ft. suffices for the requirements of the local trade. The exports from Londonderry mainly consist of agricultural produce, but there is, of course, a greater variety in the import trade.

The port of Waterford on the river Suir is fortunate in the possession of a natural harbour, the entrance to which is no less than three miles wide. The river is navigable for vessels of 20 ft. right up to the town quays, which have a depth of water alongside of 22 ft. at low water of spring tides. There is a Great Western Railway service from Fishguard to Waterford as well as Rosslare. The principal trade is in grain, timber, coal, and agricultural produce.

There is a small natural harbour at Wexford with 2,500 ft. of quayage, but no docks have been built, and vessels are unable to make the harbour at low water. The depth of water on the bar at low water is 8 ft., but there is 20 ft. of water alongside the quays. Timber and agricultural produce form the bulk of the shipping trade.

Newry harbour at the head of Carlingford Bay is only available to comparatively small vessels, access being given by a tidal river having a depth of 7 ft. at low water, and thence by a ship canal. Docks having nine acres of water area have been provided, and there is ample quay space for vessels drawing up to 12½ ft. The trade is chiefly in coal, iron, grain, and timber, which are general features of the Irish import trade, and linen, granite, and agricultural produce, which form the bulk of the exports.

The small harbour at Limerick has its accommodation reinforced by a floating dock 810 ft. long, and a graving dock of 428 ft. in length has been provided. The trade transacted at Limerick covers a somewhat wide field, there being imports of wheat and maize in addition to coal and timber, the total value of the imports exceeding one million sterling annually. Native timber, as well as butter, margarine, whisky, and con-

densed milk figure in the small export trade, valued at £5,393 in 1911.

Bantry Bay provides a large natural free harbour, there being no port authority. The bay, which is over twenty miles long, and from four to six miles in width, includes not only the harbour of Bantry, but those of Glengariff and Berehaven, and affords a fine anchorage for the largest vessels, and has not infrequently been visited by the British Fleet. The little harbour at Drogheda, although only 15 acres in area, can receive vessels drawing up to 17 ft., and a maximum depth of 21 ft. has been provided at quay-side. There is a general trade in timber, grain, coals, and cattle, horses, and pigs. Dundalk is at the disadvantage that the harbour is not accessible at low water. There is, however, a channel 9,000 ft. long in the inner harbour, and excellent quay accommodation has been provided.

Galway is interesting for several reasons. It has a fine harbour capable of affording shelter to the largest vessels, and there are two wet docks. It will be recalled that Galway is the suggested Irish Atlantic terminus in the latest transatlantic transport scheme. The claims of Galway, of Blacksod Bay, and Killery have been advocated in connexion with such a scheme for many years. Formerly, indeed, Galway was the Irish port for a transatlantic service, long since relinquished, and its claims for consideration in the scheme for quick transport via Halifax to transatlantic cities is based first on the existence of a good roadstead, and secondly on the fact that the existing line of railway between Galway and Dublin forms the shortest route. If Killery Bay were made the shipping terminus it would be necessary to build a line of railway sixteen miles in length between Killery and Galway. Those associated with the Blacksod Bay scheme point out that if a service were inaugurated from Blacksod Bay, Halifax would be brought within four days of London. The plans contemplate the construction of a deep-water pier and harbour works at Blacksod Bay and the building of a railway eighty-three miles long from Blacksod to Collooney, whence there is rail communication to Larne or Dublin. It was suggested that a subsidy should be granted to

enable this scheme to be carried out, the amount asked for being £300,000.

Various objections are urged against the several schemes. All the proposals provide for the adoption of through train services from London to the Irish port of embarkation. This would mean that a train-ferry service would have to be inaugurated for the passage of the Irish Sea, and on the Irish side there would be the question of the variation in railway gauge between the Irish and British systems to be settled. The unification of the gauge would mean a considerable capital outlay, and in addition there would be large capital requirements at Blacksod Bay, Galway, or Killery on harbour works, whichever port received the preference. Moreover, it is claimed that owing to ice and fog in the North Atlantic the estimated saving in time by adopting the short sea route might not be realized in practice. The Galway scheme is supported by both Canada and Newfoundland, and it was hoped that support would have been forthcoming from certain shipping interests. A Bill is now being promoted to secure the necessary powers for the scheme, which is estimated to cost £1,500,000.

CHAPTER II

CANALS AND WATERWAYS

IRELAND is well suited by nature to the development of a comprehensive system of inland water transport. As the history of the last two hundred years shows, Irishmen have not been insensible to their country's natural advantages in this respect. From the early part of the eighteenth century onwards public funds have been applied in abundance towards the construction and maintenance of waterways, by canals and the canalization of rivers, under the control of a State authority, which under one title or another has continued to the present day. When the Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways in the United Kingdom issued its report for Ireland in 1911, the total sums advanced by way of loan and free grant amounted to over two and a half millions, of which more than two millions had been given as a free grant; and the entire sum spent on the construction and improvement of Irish waterways, including the contribution of canal companies, amounted to little short of five millions.

Nevertheless the history of inland navigation in Ireland has been on the whole a melancholy one. In spite of a copious water supply—there are nine rivers with a catchment area of 1,000 square miles—numerous large lakes, the infrequency of ice in winter, and gradients which are easy in comparison with those in England, it cannot be said that the waterways have fulfilled expectations. The prime deficiency has been the relative absence of traffic to be conveyed, in proportion to mileage. There are 837 miles of waterway in Ireland, and though in some respects the Irish canals are more successful than those in England, there is in proportion a much smaller traffic to be carried.

The density of population is small. There are practically no inland manufacturing or large mining districts exchanging traffic with each other and with the sea-ports. Such goods as there are are agricultural, but whatever improvement may take place in agriculture, live stock, butter, and eggs will always require speedy delivery. As has been shown in the foregoing chapters, the condition of Ireland is changing rapidly, and there is a marked increase in manufacturing, but at present no such development of miscellaneous industries can be looked for as materially to increase the traffic on the canals. Yet the waterways compete favourably with the railways, the only one under railway management being the Royal Canal.

The total inland water mileage of Ireland is distributed over upwards of twenty different waterways in public or private ownership. With the exception of three, the Grand Canal, the Lagan Canal, and the Newry Ship Canal, they are all practically profitless. Not a few of them are in bad condition and some are even derelict. The connected systems are comparatively small in extent and are at present confined to the two groups constituted by the Grand Canal, including the Barrow Navigation and the Shannon and Royal Canal, and by the Northern waterways, including the Lagan, which are connected together by Lough Neagh.

Of all the canals, the Grand Canal, which is owned independently, and has acquired rights over the river Barrow, is the most important. Its main line, due west from Dublin to Ballinasloe, is about ninety-three miles long; its total mileage is 209 miles. It connects Dublin with Waterford and Limerick; with Ballinasloe, Athy, Carlow, Mount Mellick, New Ross, Monasterevan, Edenderry, and Kilbeggan. At Dublin it enters the brewery of Messrs. Guinness. In 1888 the traffic on it amounted to 228,545 tons, in 1898 to 309,288 tons; and in 1905 to 291,924 tons. In 1905 it had a gross revenue of £90,782, a total expenditure of £67,201—a net revenue of £23,581. Its annual dividends have risen, with slight fluctuations, from £2 per cent. in 1889 to £4½ per cent. in 1911.

The Lagan Canal, which is also owned independently, and traverses the most industrial region of Ireland,

extends from the City of Belfast to Lough Neagh, with a mileage of a little over twenty-five miles, serving Belfast, Lisburn, Moira, Lurgan, and Portadown, and connecting with the district served by the Upper Bann Navigation, the Ulster Canal, which serves Monaghan and Clones, and the Coal Island Canal.

The Newry Navigation and Ship Canal, now under control of the Newry Port and Harbour Trust, eighteen and seven miles respectively, together form a connexion between Lough Neagh and the Irish Sea.

Among other navigations may be mentioned the Royal Canal with its length of ninety-five miles extending from the Port of Dublin to Shannon and passing Kilcock, Ballymahon, Longford, and Mullingar; but its condition is reported to be unsatisfactory and it cannot compete with the Midland Great Western Railway, which owns it. The Shannon Navigation, including lakes and branches of the Limerick Canal, is about 157 miles long, but in spite of its length, natural advantages, and competent administration its revenue barely covers the small expenditure of the Commissioners of Public Works upon it.

Bearing in mind the paucity of population, the scarcity of industrial centres, the absence of minerals and heavy goods, and the small amount of traffic for inland conveyance, it is difficult to see what extensions or improvements would justify the money spent upon them. "As an investment for capital," Lord Monck's Commission declared in 1882, "the whole canal system of Ireland has been a complete failure." It may not be well to rely too much on a statement made over thirty years ago in view of the undoubted increase of tonnage of late and the general economic changes in the country which have taken place since. But the whole question was minutely considered in the Report issued two years ago. The broad conclusion of the Royal Commission then was that much might be done, but that comparatively little could be done with profit. The improvements and extensions desirable appeared to be of a minor order, demanding an outlay of small sums to be spent on locks, dredging, and drainage. There is little to show that the general drainage of the country is adversely affected by measures taken to improve navigation; on the other hand, such evidence as is

forthcoming is favourable to navigation work as tending to promote arterial drainage. The canalization, for instance, of rivers suffering from floods, such as the Bann, Barrow, Suir, Nore, would help to meet a constantly recurring trouble.

Of the more ambitious schemes which have been put forward from time to time the greatest and the one which would look best on the map afterwards is the extension which would have the effect of linking up the Northern system centred in Lough Neagh with the Shannon system, and connecting Belfast with Limerick. This scheme could be carried out by the resuscitation of the derelict Ballinamore and Ballyconnell Canal, a stretch of thirty-eight miles. The grand total cost of making the route from Belfast to Limerick efficient has been estimated at some £200,000. But it is more than doubtful whether there would be enough traffic available between Ulster and the far south to make the project a commercial success. The Ulster Canal has been another subject of suggested improvement. Independently of the part which it would play in the formation of the Belfast and Limerick through route, it might be improved so as to enable the same size of boats which navigate on the Lagan Canal to traverse it and to reach Lough Erne. For this undertaking £50,000 has been estimated as necessary. Another large project, a new canalization of the River Nore between Kilkenny and Inistioge, has been reckoned to involve an outlay of over £70,000. The canalization of the River Suir between Carrick and Clonmel is perhaps more feasible; the addition of thirteen miles between the two places would connect Clonmel with Waterford, a distance of some thirty miles; and the operations necessary would be those of deepening and regulating a stream which is subject to shallow water and to flood according to season. The Suir has good business towns on its banks and is an ancient trade route.

Side by side with these occasional proposals for fresh ventures exists a more despairing policy towards certain existing waterways, which have ceased to pay their way and even to be navigable. There is, for instance, the case of the historic Royal Canal, which has cost nearly a million and a half of money and has

never been a success. Yet it is generally felt that to recommend its abandonment, or that of any other waterway, would be imprudent. The upkeep of existing waterways is generally desirable if only in the interests of drainage. The future always holds possibilities in store; and it would appear, as Sir Horace Plunkett has pointed out, that the future of the canals in Ireland is closely bound up with that of the railways. At present the canals help to keep down rates and to promote competition. State control of the railways would presumably be followed by State control of the waterways, and it would then be possible to determine more accurately their respective economic values. But, considering the large sums which have gone to their construction and the natural facilities which Ireland affords for transport by water, it would ill become a generation which looks confidently towards an improved economic future if these existing monuments of patriotic if sometimes misdirected enterprise were not maintained as well as present circumstances will permit. No one can positively affirm that the advantages which their promoters hoped originally to derive from them may not fall to a future generation.

CHAPTER III

THE IRISH RAILWAYS

OWING to the absence of great centres of industry such as are served by most British lines, Irish railways have to rely for traffic largely upon cattle, agricultural products, and the tourist. There is also the disadvantage that locomotive fuel has to be imported. An illustration of the dependence of Irish railways upon the agricultural and cattle-raising industries was given in the second half of 1912, when the outbreak of the foot-and-mouth disease and the consequent restriction of cattle exports hit the Irish railways severely. The exports of cattle declined by 44 per cent. and that of pigs by 56 per cent. The root crops also were damaged by the wet summer, and the bad weather had the further effect of restricting the holiday traffic. In the face of these drawbacks it was no mean achievement that the Great Southern and Western should have made a fractional increase in the dividend for the whole year, that four other companies should have made the same distribution, and that only one, the Great Northern, paid a lower rate of dividend.

It is clear to a student of the situation that the development of Irish railways has been retarded by the operation of natural causes, and for a comparatively small country it would seem that the number of different undertakings under separate management is excessive, and tends towards uneconomical working. As to the remedy, opinions differ so widely that none of those suggested has yet been applied. The Irish Railway Commission, whose work extended over four years, failed to agree, and two reports were issued. The majority report recommended the acquisition of

the railways by the State through the medium of an elected Irish authority; the minority report proposed amalgamation into a single system by voluntary action assisted by permissive legislation and by limited financial aid. The minority report, while agreeing that the Irish railway system presented defects which ought to be removed, found no fault with the administration of the larger railways, and pointed out that the want of success of certain lines was due mainly to defective legislation. The opinion was also expressed that traffic expansion had not been retarded by the managements, and that the comparatively slow development was attributable less to any action or inaction on the part of the companies than to causes wholly independent of them. It is not surprising, in view of the difference of opinion among experts who had made a prolonged study of the situation, that no action was taken on the report, but that Irish railways have been left to work out their own salvation.

In what follows a brief account is given of the principal Irish railways. The majority of the lines are constructed to a gauge of 5 ft. 3 in., the mileage built to this gauge being 2,867, while 525 miles have been built to the 3-ft. gauge. There is also a small mileage among the light railways built to gauges of 3 ft. 6 in. and 4 ft. 8½ in. The narrow-gauge railways of Ireland are a feature of the transport system, and the traffic requirements of these lines owing to the heavy gradients has made it necessary to design special locomotives. Among the light railways mention may be made of the Listowel and Ballybunion line, ten miles in length, which is constructed on the Lartigue mono-rail system. It is also noteworthy that the pioneer electric railway, the Portrush line, is an Irish line. The total of the capital of Irish railways, including loans and debenture stock, is about £46,000,000.

The chief trunk railway in Ireland, which has been brought into existence by a series of amalgamations, is the Great Southern and Western, with a length in miles of single track of about 1,500. The line connects Dublin with all the principal towns in the south, west, and north-west. The oldest section of the line is that

between Dublin and Cork and Queenstown, the beginnings of which go back to the year 1844. The quickest services now in operation on the railway are those between the capital and Cork, a distance of 166 miles. The railway also serves Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Tralee, Ennis, Rosslare, the Irish port for the Fishguard service, and the Killarney district, and gives connexion to Sligo via Collooney. The North Wall extension provides a link in the London-Dublin service via Holyhead. The importance of the railway was materially enhanced by the acquisition of the Waterford, Limerick, and Western line twelve years ago. It is somewhat remarkable that the large mileage operated by the company has been constructed almost without any need for tunnelling, the longest tunnel being only 61 chains long. The main line permanent way, laid with 87 lb. bull-headed rails, is an excellent road, and on one section of the line, between Ballybrophy and Mallow, the best train is booked to cover seventy-eight miles in eighty-three minutes. The total traffic receipts of the company in 1912 amounted to £1,544,000 and a dividend of 5 per cent. was paid for the whole year 1912.

The Great Northern Railway, although operating a smaller mileage than the Great Southern and Western—the actual length is a little over 800 miles of single track—is from certain points of view the most important of the Irish railways. Its lines include some of the first railways constructed in Ulster, and its various branches connect Dublin with Belfast, Londonderry, Enniskillen, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Portadown, and Clones. That connecting Dublin with Belfast constitutes the main line of the company, and the fastest trains make the journey of 113 miles in 2½ hours. Special through trains are in operation between Belfast and Greenore and Belfast and Kingstown, connecting with the boat services to Holyhead. The permanent way is to the British standard and is laid with 90-lb. rails. A notable engineering structure is the Boyne viaduct, which was built nearly sixty years ago. The traffic receipts for 1912 amounted to £1,078,000, but owing to exceptionally heavy maintenance charges and the decrease in passenger traffic, the ordinary dividend, which for the

whole of last year was at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., is $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below that paid for 1911.

The Midland Great Western Railway, which comprises about 800 miles of single track, furnishes the railway link between Dublin and the west coast and serves the towns of Mullingar, Athlone, Galway, Cavan, and Sligo. The main line extends from Dublin to Galway and Clifden, and the 126 miles which separate the capital from Galway are covered by the fastest trains in three hours. The journey from Dublin to Sligo, 134 miles, occupies four hours. Through services have been established between the Midland system and Kingstown. The permanent way is laid with 95-lb. rails of Vignoles section. The company is the owner of the Royal Canal, a waterway 100 miles long. A dividend of 3 per cent. was paid for the year 1912, when the traffic receipts amounted to £311,000.

Formerly, known as the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway, the Dublin and South-Eastern system, although possessing only the comparatively small length of 220 miles, serves an important district. The main line extends from Dublin to Arklow, Enniscorthy, and New Ross to Waterford, with a branch from Macmine to Wexford. The building of the extension from New Ross to Waterford nine years ago opened up a new route to Waterford, and to towns in the south and west. Excellent suburban traffic facilities are provided between Dublin and Bray both from Amiens Street and Harcourt Street, but the principal station is at Westland Row. The line between Dublin and Kingstown forms a portion of the mail route between London and Dublin, and a large traffic, for which adequate facilities are provided, is handled at the Kingstown boat station. The Dublin and Kingstown line is noteworthy as the first of the Irish railways to be constructed.

The little Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway, which works only about 100 miles of line, has evolved from the old Cork to Bandon line, twenty miles long, opened for traffic sixty years ago. The company had a long struggle with adverse fortune and no dividends were paid for over twenty years. Some of the extensions, those to Bantry and Baltimore, were the subject

of Government grants. It is largely a tourist line serving the Killarney district via Bantry, and the whole of the main line and branches is single-track railway. An aerial railway between Ballinphellic and Ballinhassig, which was opened in 1901 by the company, was the first railway of its type to be built in Ireland. During recent years the financial position has improved, and in paying a dividend of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for 1912 the company maintained its rate of distribution at the same level as in the previous year.

By the acquisition of the Belfast and Northern Counties line ten years ago the English Midland Railway secured a foothold in Ireland. The present undertaking is an amalgamation of many small companies, and no fewer than 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles out of a total of 364 miles, mostly single-line track, are constructed to the 3-ft. gauge, the narrow-gauge section at one point being carried to a height of 1,250 ft. above sea level. The line affords communication between Belfast and Larne, this being the Irish section of the Stranraer route, and to Londonderry, Antrim, Coleraine, Ballymena, Ballymoney, and Strabane from the capital of Ulster.

Another North of Ireland railway is the Belfast and County Down. At one period it was intended that a mail service between Scotland and Ireland should be established in connexion with this system, the intention being to make Donaghadee, the quaint little village on the south shore of Belfast Lough, the Irish port, and Portpatrick the Scottish port. In addition to Bangor and Donaghadee the railway serves the county town of Downpatrick, Ardglass, and the charming pleasure resort, Newcastle. The length of line worked is eighty miles, and the traffic receipts of 1912 were £165,000, which enabled the company to pay the satisfactory rate of dividend of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The traffic receipts of six of the principal railways for 1912 was £3,760,000, and the average rate of dividend on the ordinary capital of £13,885,000 worked out at £4 8s. 5d., compared with £4 10s. 5d. per cent. in 1911.

The communications between Ireland and Great Britain are of a comprehensive character. The oldest and most popular services are those provided by the

London and North-Western Railway via Holyhead to Kingstown and North Wall for Dublin, and to Greenore for the north of Ireland.

Day and night services have been in operation for many years past, and it is now possible to travel by mid-day service from London and reach Dublin the same night. The quickest service at the present time from London to Dublin via Holyhead performs the journey in nine hours, but Kingstown can be reached in eight and a half hours, and Greenore in ten and a half hours. During recent years the company has placed a number of 22-knot boats on the Holyhead-Dublin service. In conjunction with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway the London and North-Western Company has a night service to Belfast via Fleetwood, and the 20½-knot boats running in this service enable the journey to be made from London in twelve and a quarter hours. Communication with Belfast from London is also given via Liverpool, there being a night service of steamers from that port. Another route in which the London and North-Western, the Midland, Caledonian, and Glasgow and South-Western railways participate is that via Stranraer and Larne, which affords the shortest sea passage to Ireland, the distance from port to port being only thirty-nine miles.

An independent route is operated by the Midland Railway Company to Belfast and the North of Ireland via Heysham, and the Midland Company are also the owners of the boats which run between Barrow and Belfast. Communication between Glasgow and Belfast is given by an excellent service of boats which sail nightly. The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, in addition to its interests in the Fleetwood service to Belfast, owns a fleet of steamers which make regular sailings between Fleetwood and Londonderry and Liverpool and Drogheda.

During recent years a new service to the south of Ireland via Feshguard and Rosslare and Waterford has been put into operation by the Great Western Railway. Four turbine steamers having a speed of 22½ knots, which perform the passage of fifty-four nautical miles in two and three-quarter hours, have been built for this service. Both day and night ser-

vices have been given since the inauguration of the route in August 1906. The route is the natural one to the south of Ireland and Killarney.

Communication between Great Britain and Ireland is also given by steamship services from London. That the services given are adequate for the traffic is generally acknowledged, and the ease, with which all parts of Ireland can now be reached should serve as a stimulus to traffic.

PART VIII

SPORTS AND PASTIMES'

CHAPTER I

IRELAND AS A LAND OF SPORT

THE following chapters do not profess to give an exhaustive survey of Irish sport, which, indeed, would be impossible. There is no mention, even, of the "national" game—namely, hurling, which is still very generally played in Ireland, except in some of the northern counties. Important hurling matches, such as the last final All-Ireland tie between Cork and Kilkenny, attract enormous crowds. There is no mention of track and field athletics, at which Ireland has produced so many champions, not only at home, but even more conspicuously in the Colonies and in the United States. The Gaelic Athletic Association is said to be the largest amateur athletic organization in the world, and Englishmen know much less than they ought to know about Gaelic sports. There is no article on Irish hunting, for the reason that so much has already been written on the subject, and the hunting field has furnished the theme for such an immense volume of fiction that nothing of any value can be added here beyond a mere record of facts.

There are at present 25 packs of foxhounds in Ireland, 41 packs of harriers, and 6 packs of beagles, besides 3 of staghounds—the East Antrim, County Down, and famous Ward Union. Of the foxhounds six packs have fifty couples or more—namely, the Galway County ("Blazers"), Kildare, Kilkenny, Meath, Muskerry, and Tipperary. From the fine Galway country with its terrifying stone walls, to open pasture land with hedge and ditch, every kind of country is hunted in Ireland

with every known sort of fence and, in some cases, bits of unrideable bog thrown in. As a general rule, and in the southern part of the country especially, there is more grass and less plough than in all but a few favoured districts in England. Irish hunters are, of course, famous, and the subject of their breeding is dealt with by another writer in an earlier chapter. Wherever a man hunts in Ireland he will need a well-bred horse, and a clever one. What is more important, wherever the visitor goes in Ireland he will find hunting of the most sporting spirit; he will find—and need—hard and straight riding; and he will find an extraordinarily cordial welcome. The stranger need never fear that he will be treated as an interloper, but members of the hunt, and the Masters, will show him an altogether charming friendliness and consideration. The man who has a good horse and is worthy of it cannot anywhere spend a more enjoyable holiday than in following any one of the crack Irish packs.

The shooting and fishing accessible to the man of small means in Ireland have been much reduced of late years owing to preserving and the renting of moors and rivers to strangers. On the other hand, the breaking up of estates and other well-known causes are co-operating to destroy both the shooting and fishing together in many districts, besides making the situation delicate for some of the hunts. None the less, there is perhaps no country in which sport plays so large a part in the life of the people. There is no other part of the British Isles where such good fishing, or such good mixed shooting, or such good hunting can be obtained as inexpensively as they can still be obtained in Ireland; and a relatively much larger proportion of the people is enabled to have a share in these things than is the case in England. Nearly every Irishman, moreover, knows and loves a horse; and in most parts of the country he also knows a hound. There is no doubt that the crowds which assemble at meets, at polo games, and at race meetings are much better judges both of the animals and of the sports than are the corresponding crowds in England. In spite of the untoward course of events of recent years, moreover, it still counts for much in a man's favour with all classes if he is known to be a good sportsman.

CHAPTER II

SALMON AND TROUT FISHING

IRELAND shares with Scotland the privilege of being a first-rate country for salmon and trout fishing. If nature has provided Scotland with finer salmon rivers, Ireland is pre-eminent for the great number of inland lakes, which besides some salmon hold an ample supply of fine trout both in size and quality. Owing to the absence of high mountains in most of the interior, there is room for large sheets of water, as well as for many small lakes, all of which in old times held trout, varying, according to the nature of the soil or other more occult causes, from the best to the almost worthless. It is remarkable, in the face of these facts, how lately rod-fishing as a sport took root in the country.

The catching of salmon in nets was long known as an industry. In Elizabethan days O'Donnell, the chieftain of the present County Donegal, was known as the "King of Fish," owing to the vast quantity of salted salmon exported from his country. We hear of Viceroy's and other grandees going down to the rivers to see a haul of salmon. But the sport of catching them or catching trout with a rod and line did not come into vogue till the beginning of the nineteenth century. This we infer from the absence of all mention of it in the diaries of sporting gentlemen, and the fact that there seems to have been only one tackle shop in Dublin (Kelly's) in 1800, and that a family of people who knew the art of tying flies were imported by this house from Castle Connell at that time. The making of rods also was developed on this site, which lies on the Shannon at its best region for this kind of fishing. From that time onward fly-fishing

spread rapidly through the country, for the generation of gentlemen born at the beginning of the nineteenth century were quite commonly expert fly-fishers of the simple, old-fashioned sort, when dry fly-fishing was neither known nor required to secure great baskets of trout.

This late diffusion of one of our finest field sports is very remarkable in the face of the fact that the art had been shown to Irishmen long before, and only required what the Irish have in ample store, a faculty of clever imitation. Colonel Venables, a Cromwellian Governor in the north-east of Ireland in 1650, not only wrote an excellent book on fly-fishing, but mentions in the course of it what great sport he had in the rivers flowing into Lough Neagh, and also in the smaller lakes of the country, in suitable weather. There is no evidence that this important example was followed, or that other sportsmen took advantage of these splendid waters, for about 150 years.

Shooting of flying game, though with flint-locks, was commonly practised from 1750 onwards, so that this very kindred sport had a long precedence. But so quickly did fly-fishing spread over the country that an English fisherman, travelling through the country in 1832, not only found the sport quite domesticated, but found some of the best waters carefully preserved by the owners, who had stopped all netting in their rivers and were adopting artificial methods of producing floods by holding up the waters of the lakes at their exit and so bringing in fresh fish from the sea on the days that they intended to fish. The records of this witness, who has set down carefully his successes, are not in any way superior to what we can remember up to 1880. They are very different indeed from anything which a sportsman can expect nowadays. Yet already then there were waters, such as the Galway river, crowded with anglers, so much so as to disgust fastidious sportsmen, and the gillies were perfectly competent not only to throw a fly with skill, but many of them were accomplished artists in tying flies. The type of salmon fly differed from that of Scotland, and the fame of Limerick hooks and Castle Connell rods was already so well established as to be familiar to every English fisherman.

Any one familiar with the south and west will perceive at once on reading this account that even the relative excellence of rivers and lakes was just the same as it was at the end of the century. Even as to the size of the fish to be caught this record of 1830 is just such as might have been written in 1880, except perhaps that in the Suir and the Shannon the fish seem smaller than they now are, possibly owing to the visitor not trying these rivers early in the season, when the great spring fish are running. He finds the Erne best of all, both as to size and liveliness, which is exactly what every angler would have said up to the latter year. A fairly good rod might expect to kill twenty-five fish in any week of good weather during July and August, and several of them would exceed 20 lb. in weight. The same kind of comment might be made on the sea-trout fishing in the west. The witness we quote thought fifty sea trout weighing 75 lb. a very wonderful day's fishing. Those who knew the waters in 1880 were not unfamiliar with such days, and up to then and later the average was about the same as regards weight.

All these waters have now been preserved for many years, so that free salmon fishing is quite exceptional. Moreover, in earlier days any stranger of good manners and address had only to ask for a day's sport from the proprietor, and to refuse him would have been most churlish and ill-mannered; whereas now every reach on a good river, and almost every good lake which holds salmon and sea trout, is let at a high price, and preserved jealously not only from poachers but from stray visitors. For the money value of this property has increased far more than that of any other field sport in Ireland. Salmon rivers which brought a rent of £20 or £30 per annum, or were even unlet because it seemed hardly worth while, are now divided into reaches which are let separately, and may bring in £500 per annum. The same is probably the case in Scotland. And yet in the last thirty years the real value of these waters has in most cases miserably decayed.

But before the causes of this disastrous change are discussed let us turn to the brown trout fishing of the country. The term brown trout is a curious misnomer,

for the good river and lake trout in Ireland are either almost as silvery as sea trout, or they are of rich gold colour with large red spots. It is only little bog trout, or the enormous *Salmo ferox* of the great lakes, which can fairly be called brown. The real test of good inland trout in Ireland is the colour of the flesh, which ought to be as pink as salmon. Good trout with white flesh are very rare, and only to be found in a few special waters.

The great difference between English and Irish trout fishing is doubtless the preponderance of lake fishing in Ireland. It is only in rivers running through rich land that the trout are good in size and quality, and here, if the rivers are large, salmon and sea trout occupy the attention of the angler. Brown trout are left to the pursuit of professional anglers, who can sell them in neighbouring markets, or for the amusement of little boys. But here again, if there could be had thirty or forty years ago a fine day's trout fishing in the Erne (County Cavan), the Maigue (County Limerick), and the upper Slaney (County Carlow), it is now no longer the case. Poaching of various kinds, want of protection from natural enemies, and the decay of the country gentry who valued the sport have ruined the river fishing in almost every county. The only fine river in County Wicklow was poisoned seventy years ago by lead mines, and remains so, though the mines have long been abandoned. In the north the steeping of flax and the establishment of other industries which poison water have ruined the Blackwater (Tyrone) and the affluents of the Bann. So that at present river fishing for trout need hardly be counted as an asset in Ireland's wealth, which is thus reduced by many thousands of pounds every year.

The case is not so bad with the lakes, especially with those large lakes which are not easy to poison and easier to preserve than rivers, unless indeed they are far too large for any preservation, like Lough Neagh and Lough Erne. But there remain a vast number of lakes in the middle of the country where there are fine trout to be caught, and which even now bring a great number of anglers yearly from England, and are a source of income to the country far greater

than rod-fishing for salmon. For there are a hundred men who will attempt the easier and far cheaper sport of trout-fishing for every one that ventures on salmon fishing. On many of the best of these lakes the fish are not to be caught with flies, except while the May-fly is on the water, and hence during that short season the villages along the West Meath lakes, the Shannon lakes, and so forth are crowded with anglers. At other times there is only a stray boat trolling for pike or the rare trout that will take a bait. On the more western group—Loughs Corrib, Mask, and their smaller neighbours—the trout rise more freely, and afford sport all the summer, especially in early September. The larger of these trout are also caught trolling, and it is not uncommon to land one of 8 lb. or 10 lb. weight. The *Salmo ferox* attains even far greater dimensions, but is seldom seen. The sport, however, on these lakes is protected by local associations, though the fishing is free, and on Lough Corrib especially has rapidly improved under intelligent supervision.

When we come to the smaller lakes a very different tale is to be told. There is, of course, and always has been in these isolated unpreserved waters, a good deal of netting, a good deal of otter fishing, and much poisoning with flax water of the rivulets in which many of the best fish would spawn. But all this is nothing in comparison with the plague of pike, which in a small lake exterminate all trout in a few years.

Almost all the small lakes, for example, in County Monaghan have been ruined in this way, during the last fifty years. In the south the beautiful and considerable lake of Inchigeela* (County Cork) has been devastated within the last ten or twelve years by the introduction of pike, and so a valuable property of the innkeepers, car-drivers, boatmen, and surrounding farmers has disappeared. The pity of it is that pike is not an indigenous fish, but introduced by the English, originally to be kept in ponds for the use of the aristocracy or the monks (for it was thought a delicacy in England); but it spread in strange ways which are not yet understood from lake to lake so as to people all the waters in most parts of Ireland.

There are, however, some regions still intact. There is not a pike as yet in Connemara, nor in north-west Donegal beyond the Finn and its affluents. The same may be said perhaps of the Kerry waters. But the Lough Mask and Corrib region, and Lough Arrow in County Sligo, are already full of them, and how mischievous they are even in these great lakes was proved the other day by the signal success of the campaign against them in Lough Corrib in recovering good trout fishing. Though pike may be hard to exterminate, it is comparatively easy to keep them down, so that the best trout can thrive in the same water, if it be of large area and with gravel bottoms, which pike do not like. Sir John Leslie, who owns the famous Lough Derg in South Donegal, has preserved good fishing by having the reedy and shallow bays in which pike collect to spawn netted every spring. The same process could easily be carried out in a hundred lakes throughout the north. Pike should at first be exploded and poisoned, so as to clear the lake of them as far as possible, and then good trout introduced. Yearly netting of the pike spawning beds would do the best.

But the peasant farmers who are now the riparian owners living round these lakes require a careful education in the great commercial value of this process. They must be persuaded to agree in preserving from poachers, and shown that ultimately they will divide considerable annual profits. Considering the decay of the local gentry and the disappearance of large landlords throughout the country, it is idle to expect that voluntary associations can recover this valuable asset in the wealth of Ireland. It must be consigned to a special Government Board, or special committee of the present Fishery Board, which must spend some time in educating the people, and then carry out experiments at public cost as an example for imitation by the local peasant proprietors. *

We return, in conclusion, to discuss the peculiar features in the decay of salmon and sea-trout fishing, their ascertained causes, and what hopes there are of restoring the golden days of old.

It is quite certain, that in spite of many hatcheries, and of preservation largely increased at the head

waters, there is a lamentable decrease in the summer salmon fishing of Ireland. Many Englishmen who have been in the habit of coming for years to a special water are now becoming disgusted with the scarcity, and are resigning their fishings. The decrease of peal is notable, too, in the net and weir fisheries of the principal rivers. This is not the case as yet with the spring fishing, in which the larger fish are still caught in good numbers. The enormous increase of net fishing in the sea, which begins about May, amply accounts for this remarkable difference, and it is clear that if the supply of peal is destroyed the supply of spring salmon must presently decay along with it. But sea net-fishing has now become a great industry, worked by capitalists and supported by Government Boards. The seaboard peasants are supplied with boats and miles of drift nets, and even English capitalists have embarked in this trade. It seems very doubtful whether any increase of hatcheries will make good the loss, and with the decay of angling will also come the decay of supply for the market. The prosperity of both depends on the same causes.

With regard to sea trout, the decline of sport in Ireland is not only in the quantity, but still more in the size of the fish. White trout of 2 lb. or 3 lb. are becoming rare where they were plentiful, and great numbers are caught not larger than herring size. The cause alleged for this is also netting, but in this case mackerel netting, which has been promoted and subsidized by the Congested Districts Board. It is alleged that vast numbers of sea trout are caught in these nets out at sea, and often sold at Waterville and other such well-known sea trout resorts for a trifle. Whether they are also sent to England in mackerel boxes is not proved, but is probable. Besides all this there is netting for both salmon and sea trout in estuaries, close to the rivers' mouths, both legal and illegal. In all these various ways the industry of fishing is ruining the sport of fishing in Ireland, and the vast number of peasants who profited by the latter are being sacrificed to those who practise the former as an occasional trade. For almost all the netting is carried on by men who spend the larger part of the

year upon their little farms on the coast and the banks of rivers.

These are the problems which a firm and wise Government of Ireland should solve by new and careful legislation, for thus only can this great branch of the wealth of Ireland be saved from going to ruin.

CHAPTER III

RACING

THE love of the horse being inherent in the Irishman it is little wonder that racing should be popular in the country; and what appeals to the Irishman is not the gambling side of racing, but the pure sport of it. Not that he is by any means free from the gambling spirit, but he loves a thoroughbred. The Turf in Ireland was never in a more flourishing condition than at the present time. Its tone generally has materially improved in the course of the last twenty years, and the amount of money put up for competition has increased by nearly 40 per cent. in the same period. And the sport is singularly free from suspicious or shady happenings, as a result largely of the wise and careful administration of the Stewards of the Turf Club and of the Irish National Hunt Steeplechase Committee, who respectively control racing on the flat and across country.

It is not a little remarkable that while flat racing has made, and is still making, great headway, steeplechasing has rather lost caste in a country where it once reigned paramount. There are not nearly so many steeplechase horses in the country as there were some ten years ago, partly as a result of the large and ever-increasing demand for Irish horses from England and the Continent. For the most part it is the "small" man who breeds jumpers, and in nine cases out of ten he depends upon selling to enable him to keep going. There is always a ready market for anything that has won or looks like a winner in embryo. The dealers appear to hold an unlimited commission to buy for wealthy Englishmen, and the farmer

generally is in no position to withstand a tempting offer. Jerry M., for instance, was purchased from his breeder when two years old for £200 by the late Mr. John Widger, of Waterford, who, after running him in a few minor races in Ireland, sold him to Sir Charles Assheton-Smith for £1,200. Earlier Mr. Hulton had been negotiating for the acquisition of the son of Walmsgate, but the latter failed to pass a veterinary examination for his wind. The ailment was trifling, and seemingly it had become no worse with age, as we saw last year when he stayed the trying Grand National course with 12 st. 7 lb. in the saddle. Apart from his jumping and weight-carrying ability, Jerry M. has more speed than the average Grand National winner, and few more brilliant horses have won that great race. A more recent instance still is that of Balseadden, who was bought for Mr. C. Bower Ismay in Ireland, and who has proved equal to carrying off the Paris Hurdle Race, worth close on £4,000, as well as such important flat races as the Prince Edward Handicap at Manchester and the Newbury Autumn Cup. His sire, Pilot, who is now twenty-three years old, is serving mares in the County Dublin at a fee of three or four sovereigns.

Compared with the old days racing in Ireland is now conducted on luxurious lines, and the principal meetings vie with the best on the other side of the Channel in their general appointments. There has also been an improvement at the provincial meetings, where even the least pretentious now provide fairly good accommodation for the public.

A notable feature has been the rapid strides made by the Curragh (the Newmarket of Ireland) in popular favour. The attendances there are now thrice what they were fifteen or twenty years ago, and this is mainly the result of the more up-to-date and business-like methods of the present Stewards of the Turf Club—the Earl of Enniskillen, Mr. Percy La Touche, and Mr. Frank Brooke. During their term of office several much-needed improvements have been effected. The grand stand has been enlarged to nearly double its former holding capacity, and the ring and paddock have been extended, so that on a big day, such as that on which the Irish Derby is run, there is none of the

old overcrowding and discomfort. There are fourteen days of racing at the Curragh each season, when about £16,000 are put up for competition. As nearly two-thirds of the flat-race horses of the country are trained within a stone's-throw of the racecourse, there is usually no lack of runners. The course is easily accessible from Dublin, for one can leave the capital at 12.15, travel the intervening thirty miles, enjoy a good day's racing, and be back in the city at 5.30. The progressive policy of the Stewards has been further shown in the announcement that the Irish Derby for 1914 is to be increased in value from 700 sovs. to 2,000 sovs., and a step in the right direction is the elimination of all allowances except the 3 lb. for the produce of untried mares, and the highest penalty a horse can incur is 7 lb. Heretofore it has been nothing unusual to see the weights carried in the race ranging from 9 st. 5 lb. to 7 st. 13 lb., which was an absurdity in an event dignified with the name of "Derby." That the change in the conditions has met with the appreciation of owners is indicated by the fact that there is a record race entry this year of ninety-five, and nearly half of the number come from England. Amongst the nominators are His Majesty, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Derby, Lord Wolverton, Lord Clonmell, Lord Decies, Sir Ernest Cassel, Sir Hedworth Meux, Major Eustace Loder, Mr. Dermot McCalmont, Mr. J. Buchanan, Mr. Whitney, and Mr. E. Hulton.

Nearer still to the capital are Baldoyle, Leopardstown, and Phoenix Park, the last of which, though only ten years old, ranks as one of the best meetings in Ireland. A great deal of money has been spent recently at Baldoyle, which is especially popular with the citizens on the Whitsuntide and August Bank Holidays. The programmes are as a rule "mixed," and include flat and hurdle races as well as steeplechases; and that the entertainment is popular is evidenced by the exceedingly prosperous state of the company's exchequer.

There is a steeplechase track at Leopardstown, amid very beautiful surroundings, but steeplechasing there, as elsewhere, has fallen from its former high estate, and sport under Turf Club rules now finds most favour. Modelled on a somewhat similar plan to

Sandown Park, Leopardstown commands extensive public patronage, particularly on the occasions of the principal meetings, one of which is held in Punchestown week and the other on the days preceding the Dublin Horse Show.

The Phoenix Park course, on the confines of the great enclosure from which it takes its name, was established without regard to cost and has a magnificent range of stands and offices and spacious and splendidly kept lawns. The club gives valuable stakes, and in addition provides free transit on the railway for horses as well as free stabling and forage. As is the case at Leopardstown the chief meetings of the year at Phoenix Park synchronize with Punchestown and Horse Show weeks, and always produce brilliant gatherings and high-class racing.

Of the purely steeplechase reunions, Punchestown, of course, takes pride of place, and its glories never seem to wane. Outside Horse Show week Ireland sees no such wonderful array of rank, fashion, and beauty as Punchestown attracts to her shores in the month of April. The fine galloping stretches, the diversity and number of the obstacles to be negotiated, and the give-and-take character of the course put it on a plane by itself, and there attaches to the function a suggestion of the point-to-point form of steeplechasing which adds to its sporting flavour. There is no need to dilate on the great traditions and associations of the meeting, which, notwithstanding the comparative nakedness of the land in the matter of steeplechase horses, usually brings out big fields, and whatever betides, owners like to see their colours sported at what Irishmen are proud to regard as "Peerless Punchestown."

Cork Park, which not so long ago ranked almost in the same category as the metropolitan fixtures, has fallen on more or less evil days, a result largely due to the fact that the track, which runs alongside the River Lee, is well-nigh water-logged, and this despite the best efforts of the promoters to keep the place properly drained. Limerick, however, is prospering, and in other parts of Munster there are numerous minor meetings, most of which attract huge crowds of country folk. There is singularly little racing in

Ulster. * As a matter of fact there are practically only two meetings of importance, one being that held over the Maze course by the Down Royal Corporation of Horse Breeders, which has been in existence over a hundred years, and which those concerned with its fortunes are manfully endeavouring to hold up to its old standard. The only other fixture in Ulster until quite recently has been Downpatrick, where all the events are under steeplechase rules, but this year a meeting has been established at Newtownards, and the new venture should give a much-needed impetus to the sport in the north. In the West, Galway continues to flourish, and it is extraordinary how "the Plate," as the principal event is familiarly dubbed, has maintained its prestige despite the dearth of steeplechase horses. This race was once the medium of considerable ante-post betting, and it still arouses more interest than any cross-country event decided in Ireland during the year. There is a well-arranged course at Tuam in the same county, and the Midlands are also suitably catered for, Mullingar being a particularly prosperous meeting. As has been said, however, steeplechasing is now at a low ebb in Ireland, but the great popular love of the sport seems to give assurance that it will revive.

As to the future of flat racing in Ireland, the outlook is most promising, and if one is to judge by the entries for the more important events to be decided in 1913 and 1914, more especially those for two-year-olds, the sport bids fair to show an improvement even on that of the past season, which was one of the most successful on record. There are many high-class stallions now in the country. Irish-bred horses have made a notable mark on the English Turf, and present appearances point to the probability of the Derby of next season being won by a horse that first saw the light at Adare, in County Limerick. Craganour was bred by Major Eustace Loder, and is by Lord Dunraven's great horse Desmond, whose yearlings realized such big prices at the last Doncaster Sales. In addition to Desmond there are standing at the stud in Ireland Spearmint, Orby (each of whom won the Derby), The White Knight, Tredeannis, Bachelor's Double, Earla Mor (who fills the box formerly occupied by Gallinule),

His Majesty, Santoi, Symington, White Eagle, Fariman, Llangibby, Prospector, Roi Herode, Seaforth, Speed, Royal Realm, and Wavelet's Pride, to mention but a few that have proved their worth at the stud or on the racecourse. Altogether there were never so many good stallions in the country.

CHAPTER IV

POLO.

THAT any form of human energy which centred in the breeding and use of horseflesh should have a firm grip upon the Irish people is a foregone conclusion; and, broadly speaking, the two main influences which have fostered modern polo may be said to have been Ireland and the Army. There have always been famous civilian teams in England from the days when the Peats triumphed down to the latest successes of the Old Cantabs, but it was only natural that soldiers who came across the game in the course of foreign service should seize upon it and bring it home with them. According to one authority, the first game in England was played in 1869 on Hounslow Heath between the 9th Lancers and 10th Hussars, the players being mounted on their chargers with crooked sticks for weapons and a billiard ball for objective.

As early as 1872 polo had taken root in Ireland, and with sportsmen of the type of Mr. Horace Rochfort and Mr. Robert Watson as foster-fathers the vitality of the game became assured. In the forty years which have intervened polo has increased enormously in popularity in Ireland, and, as in other countries, its evolution in science and pace has been remarkable. Some famous clubs have disappeared from the scene. Fermanagh, Sligo, and Meath are no longer to be found among the entries for the County Cup; but other clubs have sprung into existence, though not in the same degree as in England. Forty-four teams entered for the two county tournaments, the final rounds of which were decided during the County Week at Ranelagh last July; and that this was not a spasmodic effort was proved by the unbroken series of

competitions held all over England up to the end of September. It would be pleasant to be able to chronicle a proportionate infusion of new blood into the ranks of Irish players, but, though the veterans cling tenaciously to their prowess, recruits do not come forward fast enough. In a country where all ages and both sexes are fascinated by the game it cannot be that the youth has lost the "element" for it; but polo, like many of the most enjoyable things in this world, is expensive, and economic considerations doubtless hamper many a young Irishman who would revel in it and who would earn distinction on the famous Fifteen Acres in the Phoenix Park. There never was a greater demand for the high-class pony, as a producer of which Ireland has no rival. Never was the game more popular with the Irish spectator.

Last year the tournament for the County Cup attracted a capital entry, and, although the ground was saturated by rain, some most exciting games were fought out. The Open Cup, for the first time in its history, had to be abandoned owing to the deluge. The rain entailed a bitter disappointment on thousands of would-be spectators who eagerly look forward to the matches on the Fifteen Acres. And to accentuate their natural disappointment the chance of seeing Mr. Devoreux Milburn, the famous American back, take part in the tournament was destroyed by the water which lay on the sodden ground. There is one feature of the game in Ireland which is a happy and unique possession. The Fifteen Acres is part of the public ground in the Phoenix Park and is naturally unenclosed and free of access to the public. It carries a surface of beautiful old turf and is open to the wind, and has a natural gradient which shakes the water off, so that it is probably the best polo ground in the world. Even if this ambitious claim be disputed, it is beyond question that no other ground could be so much cut up in wet weather day after day and yet yield to the attentions of the roller a smooth and smiling face ready for the morrow's game.

And if the ground is famous, so is the crowd that gathers round it. It is always difficult to guess the numbers of a throng upon an unenclosed space, but it

would be safe to estimate the number of spectators in the Phoenix Park on great occasions at 40,000. Visitors and vehicles stand several deep, and many can only follow the game by proxy. Old and young, rich and poor, eagerly watch every twist and turn of the game. The barefooted gamin peeps out from between the legs of a full-grown spectator, or if he combine the audacity and charm of his race he may be allowed to perch unmolested on a luxurious motor-car. Most Irish people are born critics, and the finer points of the game are an open book to them. When the match becomes exciting the spectators exhort and encourage the players, styling them—with complimentary familiarity—by Christian name or nickname. Occasionally a foreign name proves an awkward mouthful to the Irish tongue. Colonel Chandra Singh was the first Indian player to appear on the Fifteen Acres. In his case the spectators got over the difficulty by christening him "Rajah." When he dismounted from his pony after his first game he found himself in a sea of urchins, who were staring in silent admiration at the foreigner whose supple wrist and quick eye produced such an attractive variety of effective shots. The "Rajah's" reputation as a polo-player was established.

Ireland plays England every year for the trophy known as the Patriotic Cup, the matches taking place alternately at Hurlingham and on the Fifteen Acres. It is a matter for regret that Ireland is never able to do herself justice by putting in the field a really well-mounted team which has enjoyed plenty of practice in fast polo. The best Irish ponies which take part in the match are almost certain to be found in the England team, having been sold to cross St. George's Channel after their first season's polo in Ireland. The Irishmen, who never enjoy more than one or two practice games together, invariably have to meet English players who have had the advantage of some weeks of fast polo and who are mounted on superior ponies. But in spite of these drawbacks Ireland has always managed to make a good fight of it, and on the last two occasions on which the match has been played at Hurlingham has had all the best of the game until their Irish ponies had been ridden to a stand-

still. Last year the game acquired an additional interest through the presence in the Ireland team of Mr. John Traill and his cousin Mr. Joseph Traill, who though Irish-born have long been domiciled in Argentina. It would take a very fine England team indeed to beat an Irish side made up of Captain Hardress Lloyd, Mr. Traill, and his cousin and the best Number One available, if equally well-mounted and in strong practice. This is a dream which the future may see fulfilled, as we may expect to welcome the Argentine players on our grounds once more during the season after next at the latest.

Irishmen have played a leading part in the history of the America Cup. The famous John Watson, perhaps the most outstanding personality in the history of British polo, captained the England team which went to America in 1886 and brought home the cup, which we held until 1909, when Mr. Harry Whitney's Meadowbrook team took it back across the Atlantic. Mr. Watson had in his team another Irishman in Captain Thomas Hone, of the 7th Hussars, certainly one of the best all-round sportsmen in the Army, a very fine horseman and a sterling polo-player. It is interesting to remember that Mr. Watson's side relied upon a team of ponies eight strong, two ponies apiece. In present conditions eight ponies would not be considered an excessive allowance for one player, and the difference in the quality of pony now required might almost be measured in the same ratio. For good or ill, polo has been speeded up at a greater rate than, perhaps, any other game or sport. The captain of the next England team to invade America, was also an Irishman. The gallant attempt recently made by Captain Hardress Lloyd's team to follow the example of Mr. Watson's team is fresh in the memory of all who are interested in polo or in international sport. Had Captain Lloyd and his gallant men been well-served in the matter of ponies it is conceded by most competent observers that the America Cup would have returned to England. Both the international matches produced great games, and it is probable that no finer exhibition of polo than that seen in the second struggle ever has been or will be given in any country. It is almost unnecessary to state that among the 30,000

spectators were a large number of Irish men and women, and it is probably safe to say that the percentage of Irish people—for whom it was feasible to be present at Meadowbrook—was a “highest possible.” Of the three or four ponies in the England team which were up to the required standard the famous Irish-bred Energy stood out by herself. It was generally agreed that she was the best-looking pony on the ground and that her deeds were equal to her looks. She carried Captain Lloyd for three periods in each match, a wonderful achievement.

It has been said that Ireland and the Army have exercised a decisive influence upon the history of polo. The international matches played in America may be taken as a test of this statement. In 1886 half the team, including the captain, were Irishmen, and all its members—the others being Captain Malcolm-Little, of the 9th Lancers, and the Hon. R. Lawley, 7th Hussars—were soldiers, while in 1911 the captain was an Irishman and all the members of the team again held His Majesty's commission, as again was the case this year.

CHAPTER V

MOTORING

THE motor-car first made its appearance in Ireland about 1896. Who was the actual pioneer I know not, but it was either the late Mr. Gillies, then of Dundrum, County Dublin, who owned a Benz, or the late Mr. John Browne, of Dunmurry, who owned a Serpollet steam-car. Mr. Gillies lived quite close to me, and many a time when cycling in and out of Dublin I have passed him *en panne*. I must admit I was very far from being impressed by the new method of progression.

I became a convert myself in January 1900. The intervening few years were not fruitful. I do not think there were a dozen other motorists in the whole country. Your Irishman, strange as it may appear, is conservative at heart and takes a lot of convincing. Once the heaven has worked, however, he develops into an enthusiast with great rapidity, and nothing satisfies him but the best he can afford. Even the poorest of Donegal peasants will pay from 3s. to 4s. a lb. for tea, and many Irish motorists own cars they cannot afford to run. Such is the position of affairs in this year of grace. Motoring has now "caught on," and the demand has doubled within the last three years.

From the point of view of utility the motor-car may be looked upon as an even greater boon in Ireland than in England. Transit facilities in Ireland are poor, country residences are far apart, and many of them are miles removed from a railway station. With a car friends formerly out of reach can easily be visited. The circle is gradually increased, and the wonderful mobility of the new vehicle enables the

sportsmen—and nearly all Irishmen are sportsmen—to hunt, shoot, and fish to an extent never possible before.

Until comparatively recently Irish conservatism militated against the general use of commercial vehicles. Business men were sceptical as to the reliability and economy of motor traction, and hesitated to risk their money in experimenting. Within the last three years, however, a great change has come over the country. Delivery vans, lorries, and such like are being largely purchased, to the material advantage of their owners. The same conditions that have led to the popularity of the private car have made motor traction essential for the conveyance of goods. These commercial vehicles are only economical for reasonably long runs, and Ireland affords them ample scope. The roads in some districts militate against their success, but steam-rolling is progressing rapidly, and in many counties all the leading roads have been dealt with. Before long Ireland will again have cause to be proud of her highways.

To the touring motorist the Green Isle appeals strongly, for the gems of Irish scenery are most conveniently situated for touring, forming, as they do, an almost unbroken circle round the rim of the country, so that a circular tour of about 1,100 miles will include the best beauty spots and introduce the tourist to the peculiarities and characteristics of the widely differing inhabitants. Starting from Dublin, County Wicklow—the "Garden of Ireland"—is a district of magnificent woods, deep valleys through which run swift-flowing rivers, rounded heather and gorse-clad hillsides, and barren, open moorland and mountains. In fact it includes samples of all the outstanding features of Ireland's typical scenery. Take Luggala, for example. Here in a deep hollow lies a dark, egg-shaped lake which reflects the slatey-blue colour of a precipitous mountain on the south-west, while the north-east side rises less steeply and is densely wooded. A deep gorge, traversed by a roaring stream which leaps in foam from ledge to ledge, in places forming splendid waterfalls, gives a steep and rocky descent on the north-west. The waters escape on the south less boldly, and after the

first plunge flow softly down a green valley sentinelled by lofty mountains on both sides for over two miles to Lough Dan. Hardly less imposing are the valley of the Liffey, Lough Dàn, Glendalough, Wicklow Gap, the Vale of Clara, Glenmalur, Aughavanna, the Vale of Ovoca, Barranisky Pass, and Woodenbridge. Then there is the valley of the Barrow farther south, with river scenery equal to the Wye Valley, and splendid seascapes east of Waterford. Thence to Cork is tame, but the run from Cork to Glengariff makes more than amends. Glengariff itself is an earthly paradise, and forms a fitting entrance to the glorious Kerry district, of which the Killarney Lakes constitute the greatest attraction. It is a land of great mountains, islanded lakes, roaring torrents, narrow rocky passes, and immense cliffs, which boldly face the open Atlantic. Its treasures are inexhaustible.

County Clare is mainly noted for its grand cliff scenery, Connemara for its bare rocky mountains, innumerable lakes, broken seascapes, wonderful sunsets, and glorious cloud effects. The colouring here, and in fact all along the west coast from Mizen Head in County Cork to the Bloody Foreland in County Donegal, is marvellous. Achill is famous for its wonderful cliff scenery. Lough Gill, in County Sligo, is a miniature Killarney. The road from Enniskillen to Belleek along the southern shore of Lough Erne commands some of the finest lake scenery in the British Isles. County Donegal possesses some of the most typical features of Kerry and Connemara, but surpasses both in the marvels of its cliff scenery. Slieve League, for example, drops almost 2,000 ft. sheer to the sea.

From Derry to Belfast—a long day's run—is the finest coast road in the United Kingdom both as regards scenery and surface, and gives access to many special beauty spots, such as the Giant's Causeway, Fair Head, and Glenarriff. County Down is wooded, mountainous, with noble valleys, and possesses many of the best features of County Wicklow scenery. From Dundalk to Dublin (52 miles) is comparatively tame.

But what of the roads? the would-be tourist may ask. Speaking generally, I am sorry that I cannot

assert that they match the scenery. They are good, bad, and indifferent, the indifferent predominating. There are thousands of miles of excellent roads, and the development of steam rolling, assisted to some extent by the Road Board grants, is continuous and rapid. Even at present it is possible to map out a tour of over 1,000 miles most of which leads over good roads, but it has to be carefully planned with the aid of the Steam-rolled Road Map of Ireland recently published, and some beautiful places may have to be avoided. Even the worst roads, however, are not specially destructive to tires provided the average speed observed is moderate, for the road metal is soft and not apt to cut. They are better than similar mountain roads in Scotland.

I should not advise the mere speed merchant to visit Ireland, for he will be disappointed. Apart from the bumpy roads which he will necessarily have to traverse from time to time, he will come unexpectedly on culverts and hog-backed bridges, and will run considerable risk of collision with horse-drawn vehicles, the drivers of which frequently pay little attention to the rule of the road. Unattended animals also are sometimes encountered wandering at large or grazing on the grass edges. To the careful driver there is little danger.

The next question of importance is the hotels. Like the roads, they are good, bad, and indifferent, and the tourist's views on the subject depend on his selection or the selection made for him. In the popular tourists' resorts the hotels are excellent and much cheaper than corresponding hotels in Scotland. In the large towns they are mostly good, but in the small provincial towns they are generally bad, and sometimes very bad. There are exceptions, however, where least expected, such as in the little village of Adare (County Limerick) and Dramahaire (County Leitrim). Hence it is well to get information beforehand both as regards hotels and roads, and—in the course of a tour—if in doubt on this or any other point to ask a policeman. They are well-educated, intelligent men, and mines of local information.

Ireland is ideal for a sporting tour of a leisurely nature. It is not a country for restless hurrying.

Follow the example of the natives and take things easy. Fishing, shooting, and camping can be satisfactorily combined so as to produce a perfect restful holiday, and incidentally enable one to study the most interesting peasants in the United Kingdom.

There are three Motoring Associations in Ireland which have done and are doing excellent work. The Irish Automobile Club (34, Dawson Street, Dublin) was founded nearly a dozen years ago. It has a splendid garage, comfortable club-rooms; and offers many advantages to its members, such as free legal defence. It is affiliated to the Royal Automobile Club and, practically speaking, has secured all the benefits of that organization for its Irish members, who number over a thousand. It has ceased, however, to organize sporting events. The subscription is £3 3s. per annum.

The Automobile Association (subscription £1 1s.) has concentrated its energies on the road. It has formed Road Committees in all parts of the country, and through these committees has done excellent work towards developing steam rolling. It has also erected thousands of direction and danger signs, and has been remarkably successful in defending members who have been prosecuted. It deserves the support of every Irish motorist, for whom it spends yearly considerably more than the sum received annually in subscriptions. The address of the Irish secretary, Mr. A. Allen, is 12, College Green, Dublin.

Motor-cycling interests are looked after by the Motor-Cycle Union of Ireland and various energetic clubs, and a great number of hill climbs, races, and reliability trials are carried out each year.

CHAPTER VI

GOLF

THE golfer who goes to Ireland may be sure of two things—he will play upon some of the most charming courses and will meet adversaries who combine in the highest degree the friendliest hospitality and the sternest and most severely concentrated intention of beating him into a cocked hat. Ireland takes her golf with tremendous keenness and tremendous seriousness; she is also laudably businesslike about it, and is possessed of that sometimes abused institution, a Golfing Union, which has probably had a great deal to do with making the Irish Open Championship the most popular holiday tournament in the world.

The good golf in Ireland begins almost from the moment when the voyager sets a wavering and thankful foot upon Kingston Pier, for Dublin is rich in courses, and has two at any rate that can hold up their heads in any company. These two are Dollymount and Portmarnock, and he would be a rash man from several points of view who should endeavour to say that one is better than the other. They have but little resemblance to one another, but as regards essential goodness it is both wisest and safest to place them upon twin pedestals. Any preference one way or the other that may be felt will probably be dictated by the upbringing of the visitor. If he is a loyal son of St. Andrews he may very likely give his vote to Dollymount, where the ground is flatter and the burkers attract rather by a subtle and devilish ingenuity of position than by any obvious magnificence. On the other hand, a golfer bred among the great hills of Sandwich or Formby or Prestwick will love Portmarnock best, with its glorious stretches of big, bold country, its naturalness and solitude.

Both may be called island courses, but whereas Dollymount may be said to possess the equivalent of a Channel tunnel in the shape of a long wooden causeway, Portmarnock is really cut off from the mainland. When the tide is down, one can drive over the wet sand in a car, and when it is up an amusing little expedition in a sailing boat is necessary. There is yet another island course at Malahide—and the Irish ladies have played their championship there—which deserves a word of mention for the splendour of its sandhills and the agreeable uncertainty with which the player pants to the top of them to see what has happened on the other side; hence it is particularly sweet *desipere in loco*, that is, to play a light-hearted game after a really strenuous week at Dollymount or Portmarnock. Moreover, all round Dublin there are inland courses of various degrees of merit, of which Foxrock, with the gorse in full bloom and a lovely background of hills, leaves particularly pleasant memories.

In spite of the richness of Dublin, the chief golfing playground of Ireland may be said to be in the north. First of all there is Newcastle in County Down, a noble course of noble hills, lying on the shores of Dundrum Bay and under the shadow of the Mourne mountains. Newcastle at one time suffered, as have other courses, such as Wallasey and Burnham, from a plethora of hills; the golf was a little too nearly akin to blindman's buff. That has now been altered; the undue blindness has been abolished, and the golfer, though he may certainly hit a long way, if he can, and will be all the better for it, must also hit very straight. A year or so ago Harry Vardon played a match at Newcastle against the better ball of Mr. John Ball and Mr. Cairnes and beat them very handsomely—a piece of testimony not only to the skill of Vardon but to the virtues of Newcastle, for such a feat could hardly be accomplished on any course that was not a supremely difficult test of the game. It is one of the courses upon which the Irish Championship is played, and was the scene of Mr. Gordon Lockhart's recent victory.

Further north in County Antrim is another championship course, Portrush, on a promontory jutting

out into the Atlantic not far from the Giant's Causeway. This is a fine course in true golfing country, with some picturesque hills and valleys, more especially towards the end of the round, and enjoying a settled and well-earned position among links of the first class. In the neighbouring county of Londonderry there is at least one very agreeable course at Casterock, a little perhaps of the holiday rather than of the championship type; and then, going further west into Donegal, we come first to Lough Swilly and secondly to Mulroy Bay, together with three spots particularly well suited for a golfing holiday, Buncrana, Portsalon, and Rosapenna. The Lisfannon course, near Buncrana, has but nine holes, but they are so good as to fear no comparison with Musselburgh or Felixstowe or Bembridge; and while Portsalon, which stands at the northern end of the lough, if it is not quite so severely good, is quite good enough for any one in the right mood—the mood in which a long raking second with a brassy is not considered a *sine qua non*, and a ball bounding away off a rock is not too bitterly resented; the mood, in short, in which we agree that “there is nothing like a little judicious levity.” Rosapenna on Mulroy Bay is likewise charming; perhaps it is rather better golf than Portsalon and perhaps it is not; the point is not worth labouring when one can be so happy with either.

Apart from Dublin and the north, there is only one course of any extraordinary fame, and that is Lahinch, in County Clare. Here is played the tournament for the South of Ireland Championship, and since it follows as a rule immediately after the open event, many of the invaders come south to make two bites at a championship. It is a little difficult to say anything original about Lahinch. Its mighty hills and blind shots, the terror of the man who can top and the delight of the man who can pitch, the wind that has been known to blow the ball back over the striker's head—have they not often been written? Yes these are the outstanding features of Lahinch, and if it be easy to criticize them the constancy of affection of many golfers proves that it is hard not to love them. One who has been there may perhaps pay a tribute to the fascinating little private course at Adare in County

Limerick, where the owner kindly lets other people play. Not only does it demand an almost heart-breaking accuracy with the tee shot, but it is probably the only course in the world where a castle, an abbey, and graveyard play effective parts as hazards, and, as Sir Lucius said to Bob Acres, "There is very snug lying in the abbey."

The Irish golfer is, as has been said, nothing if he is not keen. He is, if one may say so with respect, as unlike as need be to the average Englishman's conception, derived chiefly from the stage and a hazy recollection of Captain Costigan. When Mr. Broadbent went to John Bull's other island to lay out a golf course near the Round Tower at Rosscullen, he must have been quite as astonished at the Irish golfer as he was at everything else, for he certainly would not have found his opponent wishing "more power to his elbow." The Irish temperament is not perhaps so well suited to golf, with its long-drawn-out agony, as it is to the game in which eight rushing demons in green jerseys tear down the field and sweep the opposing forwards off the face of the earth by sheer, splendid impetuosity, but if there be really any such deficiency there is at least a noble effort to overcome it, and the Irishman plays golf with a constant earnestness and a desire to play better, combined with a truly sporting spirit, which is worthy of all admiration.

For a good many years past Ireland has possessed some very good golfers, of whom Mr. Harold Reade, Captain H. A. Boyd, and Mr. H. M. Carnes are perhaps the best known. But quite lately she has produced two younger players, one an amateur and one a professional, who are in a decidedly higher class and have probably not yet shown, out of their own country at any rate, the very best form of which they are capable. These two, Mr. Lionel Munn and Michael Moran, are both very attractive as well as very fine players, and that in methods between which there is absolutely no resemblance. Mr. Munn first sprang into fame when he was at Trinity College, Dublin, but he learnt his game upon the charming nine-hole course of Lisfannon near Banerana. For three consecutive years he held the Open Championship of his country against all comers, and on two

of these three occasions he not only beat, but fairly and squarely outelassed a field comprising many good and some very good golfers. Last year he was only just defeated in a match which by all accounts approached an heroic standard, by the ultimate winner, Mr. Gordon Lockhart. He has yet to do himself full justice in either England or Scotland, but if ever there was a young player of whom it could reasonably be prophesied that he would win the Amateur Championship, Mr. Munn is surely that one. He has a beautiful style, although it appears perhaps just a little less fascinating than it otherwise might by reason of his extreme and studied carefulness; really great power, a good physique, and a dour, brave, hard-fighting temperament. He is one of the few players whose time must surely come.

Moran is a player of an entirely different type, dashing and rapid to the verge of apparent carelessness. He has not all the physical advantages of Mr. Munn, but by dint of a true free swing and very hard hitting—a little too hard to last through several long strenuous days, as it sometimes seems—he drives a very fine ball, and he sometimes follows up his good play through the green by bouts of inspired putting. He has yet to show the capacity to live up to the remorselessly high standard of the very best professionals through four entire rounds, but he is certainly one of the most promising of the younger generation.

Another fine player is McNeill, the professional at Portrush, a big, powerful man, with a fine style; and there are several others who might be mentioned, while of the younger amateurs Mr. Jameson, Mr. Patterson, and Mr. Macan are all good, though not so good as Mr. Munn. Moreover, no account of Irish golf would be complete without some word of the lady champions, whom indeed it would have been more chivalrous to mention first. Mrs. Cuthell, better known as Miss Rhona Adair, is a beautiful golfer, who has now apparently given up playing in the championships which she used to win, while Miss May Hezlet, who is now Mrs. Ross, is, with the possible exception of the first champion, Lady Margaret Hamillon Russell, the most successful player that has yet appeared in

the Ladies' Championship. Two other of the Misses Hezlet, Miss Stuart, and Miss Mabel Harrison are all good players, and certainly till the advent of Mr. Munn and Morar it might be said that the lady golfers of Ireland were relatively better than the men: This, however, is to enter on an argument which might, like one of Mrs. Bennet's, "end only with the visit." At any rate both sexes have every reason to play well, for they have admirable links to play on.

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